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THOMAS STANLEY ARM:

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THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.

By THOMAS STANLEY.

Containing those on whom the Attribute of

VVISE

was conferred.

LONDON,
Printed for *Humphrey Moseley*, and *Thomas Dring*, and are to be sold at their shops at the *Princes Armes* in St. *Pauls* Church-yard, and at the *George* in Fleetstreet neere *Cliffords Inne*. 1655.

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TO

MY HONOVRED VNCLE

IOHN MARSHAM, Esq;.

SIR,

I Send this Booke to you, because you first directed me to this designe; The learned *Gassendus* was my precedent: whom nevertheless I have not followed in his partiality: For he, though limited to a single person, yet giveth himselfe liberty of enlargement, and taketh occasion from his subject to make the world acquainted with many excellent disquisitions of his owne. Our scope being of a greater latitude, affords lesse opportunity to favour any particular; whilst there is due to every one the commendation of their owne deserts. This benefit I hope to have received from the variety of the subject; but far more are those I owe to your encouragement, which if I could wish lesse, I should upon this occasion, that there might seeme to have been

been expreſſed ſomething of choice and inclination in this action, which is now but an inconſiderable effect of the gratitude of,

Dear Uncle,

Your moſt affectionate Nephew

and humble ſervant

THOMAS STANLEY.

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PREFACE.

History (which by expounding actions past teacheth to regulate the future, and furnisheth us with wisdom at the cost of other mens experience) is not unlike Painting: their scope is the same; and as in the latter it argues want of skill to look upon the whole draught with an indifferent eye, but to select and insist upon some chiefe particular is proper to an Artist; so he who rests satisfied with the generall relation of affairs, (not fixing upon some eminent Actour in that story) loseth it greateſt benefit; since what is most particular, by its nearer affinity with us, hath greateſt influence upon us.

Hence it is that there are two kinds of History; *One represents generall affairs of State; The other gives account of particular persons, whose lives have rendred them eminent.* Homer *hath given an essay of each; of the first in his* Iliads, *a relation of a war betwixt different Nations; of the second in his* Odysses, *confined to the person of* Ulysses.

Now the life of man being either practick, *busied in civill affairs of peace and war, or* Contemplative, *retir'd from publick businesse to speculation and study of wisdome, divine or humane, it follows that this personall history bee twofold likewise, describing either the actions of such persons as are wholly interested in affairs of state (properly compar'd to the persons of a drammaticall designe, whose single Characters and parts serve one onely to make up one joint plot. Such are most of those whose lives are related by* Plutarch, *& the twelve* Cæsars *of* Sueronius *)Or the lives of such as have been excellent in some kind of learn-*

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ing; Thus Antipho *writ of Poets;* Eudemus *of Astrologers;* Cicero *and* Plutarch *of Orators,* Suetonius *of Grammarians. They who writ of Philosophers exceeded the rest far in number, of whom to give a particular accompt will be unnecessary, because their workes are not extant, and therefore we shall onely name them,* Aetius, Anaxilides, Antigonus, Antisthenes, Aristocles, Aristoxenus, Callimachus, Clitomachus, Diocles, Diogenes Laertius, Eunapius, Heraclides, Hermippus, Hesychius, Hippobotus, Ion, Idomeneus, Nicander, Nicias, Panætius, Porrius, Plutarch, Sotion *and* Theodorus.

Of almost all these (which is much to be deplored) there remaine not any footsteps; the onely Author in this kind for the more antient Philosophers is Diogenes Laertius, *for the later* Eunapius *And to make the misfortune the greater, that which* Laertius *gives us is so far short of what he might have done, that there is much more to be found of the same persons dispersed amongst other authors, which I have here collected and digested, with what diligence I could.*

Nor is it unseasonable at this time to examine the tenents of old Philosophers, when so great variety of opinions daily spring up; some of which are but raked out of the ruines of antiquity, which ought to be restored to their first owners; others being of late invention will receive addition, when advanced to such height wee look down to the bottom from which Philosophy took her first rise, and see how great a progresse she hath made, whose beginnings are almost inscrutable.

Although some Grecians have challenged to their Nation the Originall of Philosophy, yet the more learned of them have acknowledged it derived from the East. To omit the dark traditions of the Athenians concerning Musæus, *of the Thebans concerning* Linus, *and of the Thracians about*

Or-

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Orpheus, *it is manifest that the original of the Greek Philosophy is to be derived from* Thales, *who travelling into the East, first brought Naturall learning, Geometry, and Astrology, thence into* Greece, *for which reason the attribute of* wise *was conferred upon him, and at the same time upon six others for their eminence in morality & politicks. Thus learning in the antientest times was by the Greeks called* Sophia (wisdom) *and the professour thereof, who raised his soul to an eminent degree of knowledge,* Sophos (wise) Pythagoras *first named it* Philosophy (love of wisdom) *and himself a* Philosopher, *affirming that no man is wise; but onely God.*

* *As concerning those who were honoured with this attribute of* wise, Damon *the Cyrenæan undervalues them all, especially the seven.* Anaximenes *saith, they were all addicted to Poetry;* Dicæarchus, *that they were neither wise men, nor Philosophers, but upright men and Law-givers:* Archetimus *the Syracusian wrote concerning their meeting with* Cypselus (*Father to* Periander) *whereat he saith himself was present.* Ephorus *affirms they all met with* Croesus, Thales *onely excepted. Some say they met also at the Panionian feast, and at* Corinth, *with* Periander, *at* Delphi. * *Laert. vit. Thalet.*

There is some controversy concerning their sentences, of which some are ascribed to severall persons, as that,

Lacedæmonian *Chilon* this profest,
Nothing too much; a mean in all is best.

There is no lesse dissent concerning their number. Leandrius *for* Cleobulus *and* Myson, *inserts* Leophantus *Son of* * Gorsiades *a* Lebedion, *or Ephesian, and* Epimenides *the Cretan.* Plato (*in his* Protagoras) *substitutes* Myson *for* Periander: Ephorus, Anacharsis *for* Myson. *Some adde* Pythagoras. Dicæarchus *alledgeth four, acknowledg'd*

* *Not* Leophantum Gorsiadem *as the Interpreters render.*

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ledg'd by all Thales, Bias, Pittacus and Solon: then names six more, out of which are to be selected three, Aristodemus, Pamphilus, Chilon, the Lacedæmonian, Cleobulus, Anacharsis, Periander; some adde * Acusilaus Son of Caba or Scabra an Argive. Hermippus in his treatise of the seven wise men saith, they were in all seventeen, of which seven were variously named, which were Solon, Thales, Pittacus, Bias, Chilon, Cleobulus, Periander, Anacharsis, Acusilaus, Epimenides, Leophantus, Pherecydes, Aristodemus, Pythagoras, Lasus of Hermionea, Son of Charmantides, or (according to Aristoxenus) of Simbrinus, Anaxagoras. Hippobotus in his commentary of Philosophers reckons Linus, Orpheus, Solon, Periander, Anacharsis, Cleobulus, Myson, Thales, Bias, Pittacus, Epicharmus, Pythagoras

Laertius reckons them thus, Thales, Solon, Chilon, Pittacus, Bias, Cleobulus, Periander; whereto he addes Anacharsis, Myson, Epimenides, and Pherecydes. These saith he were called the wise men, to whom some annex Pisistratus the Tyrant.

Amongst the Romans also three had the sirname of Sapiens, M. Cato, C. Lælius, and L. Acilius.

* So Suidas Ἄκουσίλαος Κάβου υἱὸς Ἄργειος: by which Laertius is explain'd contrary to the interpreters.

THALES



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THALES.

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THALES.

CHAP. I.

The Country and Parents of Thales.

GReat wits, which have been happy in benefiting Posterity by their excellent inventions, have not alwaies had the fortune to enjoy the just reward, their glory being intercepted oftentimes by some later disguise of alteration or addition. It were therefore gratitude in us, who find our selves instructed by the Antients, to vindicate the memory of our masters by enquiring diligently the Authors of those labours whereof wee reap the Harvest. This kind of injury hath happened very considerably to *THALES* the wise man of *Miletus*, who first introduc'd Naturall and Mathematicall Learning into *Greece*, from whence it derived into us; but the honour of so noble a design, the ambitious opposition of some, the industry of others hath so obscur'd, that there is little of the reputation left to the deserving Author. I have therefore esteemed it worth my pains, to digest what I could collect or observe of a person, to whom all lovers of Learning are so much oblig'd.

The Original of *Thales* is very obscurely delivered. Some conceive he was a Phœnician by birth, whose opinion seeming to be strongly founded upon *Laertius*; and the Authorities by him alledged, it is necessary that we begin with a disquisition upon his words, which are, as commonly rendred, these.

Now Thales *was born*, *as* Herodotus, Duris *and* Democritus *affirm*, *his Father being* Examius, *his Mother* Cleobulina, *of the* Thelidæ, *who were Phœnicians, the most illustrious of all from* Cadmus *and* Agenor, *as* Plato *also saith*] The Testimony of *Herodotus*, though * *Higynus* and * *Suidas* seem to understand it according to the common errour, as if hee were born in *Phœnicia*, expressely confirmes the contrary, being thus: *Thales a Milesian a farre off by descent a Phœnician*; Whence we may gather, that the other two Authorities of *Duris* and *Democritus* imported little more, or at least nothing to a contrary sense. So likewise that of *Leander*, which is by * *Clemens Alexandrinus* cited jointly with *Herodotus*, to prove him of a Phœnician extract.

He was made free of Miletus *when he came with* Neleus *who was banish'd out of Phœnicia*] The learned * *Casaubon* to reconcile this story

* *Astronom. Natione fuit Phœnix, ut Herodotus Milesius dicit.* Which doubtlesse is corrupt (for what *Herodotus* is that?) and to be restored to this effect, *Natione fuit Phœnix ut Herodotus, Milesius ut alij dicunt.*

* *In Voce Thales.*

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story with that of *Neleus*, who was not banish'd out of *Phœnicia*, when he built *Miletus* for ἐπὶ ἐκεῖ ἐκβληθεὶς ὑπὸ Νηλέως ἐμοικήσαι φασὶν reads ἐμοικήσαι φασὶν; as if *Thales* being banish'd out of *Phœnicia* had gone with *Neleus* to *Miletus*; which alteration begetteth a very strange Anacronism, for this *Thales* was above four hundred years later then that *Neleus*. Therefore if *Laertius* meant the same *Neleus*, either he was strangely mistaken, or his text is corrupt, and ought to be understood of the Ancestors of *Thales*, to which sense it may bee reduc'd with little alteration, thus, ἐκεῖθεν ἐμοικήσαι δὲ τὸ Μιλήτῳ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνι ἐκεῖ Νηλέως ἐμοικήσαι φασὶν, as if they being Phœnicians, went into *Caria*, and became Citizens of *Miletus*, at what time *Neleus* Son of *Codrus*, being put beside the Kingdom of *Athens* by his younger brother *Melon*, lead thither the Ionian Colonies, whereof *Miletus* (which he built) was the chief City. Of this Colony see *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, and *Ælian*.

But as most say he was born there, at Miletus, *and of a noble race*] So they render Μιλήσιος, but in opposition to the first opinion which onely mentions his Family, not Country, it may perhaps be understood here in the same relation: Some (saith he) think, he was of a Phœnician extract, of those who were incorporated at *Miletus*; others that he was of a Grecian Family, and that noble. Of this latter opinion is * *Plutarch* who reproves *Herodotus* for making *Thales* descended afar off from a Barbarian stock, and * *Hermippus*, who ascribes that saying to him, that he thanked the Gods he was a Grecian, not a Barbarian.

* *De Herod. malign.*

* *Laert. vit. Thal.*

CHAP. II.

Of the time of his birth.

* *Laert.* * *Laert.* * *Lib. 3.*

Apollodorus saith, *that Thales was born the first year of the thirty fifth Olympiad*; * *Demetrius Phaleveus* saith, *that he was honoured with the title of wise, when* Damasias *was Archon.* Damasias *was Archon according to* * Dionysius Halycarnasseus *the second year of the thirty fifth Olympiad, when* Ancus Martius *the fourth King of* Rome *began his reign.*

Hereupon an anachronism of one year is supposed by very learned men, who would have *Thales* to be born the same year that *Damasias* was Archon. Whence * *Sigonius*, * *Vossius*, and others bring drown the birth of *Thales* to the second year of this Olympiad; * *Scaliger*, * *Meursius*, * *Petavius* and others raise *Damasias* to the first year, that they may make his Magistracy agree with *Thales's* birth; neither rightly; for the office of *Damasias* relateth not to the birth of *Thales*. For the clearing whereof we must take notice, that *Damasias* in the Athenian Fasti is twice said

* *De Atheniens tempor.*
* *De scient. mathemat.* 32. 8.
* *In Euseb.*
* *Archont.* 1. 11.
* *Rationar. temp.* 2. 12.

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said to be Archon, first in the second year of the thirty fift Olympiad, the next year after the birth of *Thales*, and again the fourth year of the forty eighth Olympiad, when he obtained the title of *Wise*; The latter we cannot mention without acknowledgement of the great light Chronology hath received by Mr *Selden's Marmora Arundeliana*.

It will be also worth observance, that there was another of this name, whom *Eusebius* placeth at the eighth Olympiad, and *Laertius* and * *Plutarch* make contemporary with *Homer*, *Hesiod* and *Lycurgus*. * *Scaliger*, who perceived the inconsistency of this accompt, perceived not the reason of it; for * *Lycurgus* and *Iphitus* instituted the Olympick games twenty seven Olympiads before *Corœbus* was victor, who according to *Eusebius* is the first. These two *Thales* are by some confounded, *Eusebius* calls the first a natural Philosopher, wheras it is certain that kind of Learning was first introduc'd into *Greece* by the ad. * *Suidas* cites *Phlegon*, that the latter *Thales* flourish'd in the seventh Olympiad, which *Phlegon* doubtlesse meant of the first. * They who place *Thales* about the seventh Olympiad, and make him contemporary with *Romulus*, confound the latter *Thales* with the first, and the true Epoche of the Olympiads with the vulgar. For the first *Thales* lived in the seventh Olympiad from the first of *Iphitus*; *Romulus* liv'd about the same distance from the Olympiad of *Corœbus*.

* *Vita Lycurg.*

* *In Euseb.*

* *Phlegon fragm.*

* *In vocc. Thales.*

* *See St. Augustin. de civit. dei, lib. 18. cap. 24. & 27.*

This time is mistaken by that learned Father *Clemens Alexandrinus*, to prove *Thales* younger then the later Prophets. * *Thus* (saith he) *It is demonstrated that they who prophecied in the time of* Darius Hystaspes *in the second year of his reign, that is to say,* Aggæus, Zacharias, *and* Malachy, *who was one of the twelve, seeing that they prophecied in the first year of the forty eight Olympiad, were more antient then* Pythagoras, *who is said to have been in the sixty second Olympiad, and then* Thales *eldest of the Greek Sages, who was about the fiftieth Olympiad*; as if this were not rather an argument to prove these Prophets contemporary with *Thales*, which *Eusebius* allows. * *About the time* (saith he) *of* Cyrus *King of Persia, the seven wise men flourished; this was the time in which the last of the Hebrew Prophets propheſied, since Troy above six hundred years after Moses, no lesse then fifteen hundred years.* But if with *Clemens Alexandrinus* we account these Prophets coetaneous with *Darius Hystaspes*, they will appear much younger then *Thales*, for *Darius* begun his reigne in the last yeare of the sixty fourth Olympiad.

* *Stromat. 1.*

* *Præpar. Evangel. 10.*

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CHAP. III.

His Travells.

HE employ'd the first and greatest part of his time to *Creet*, to inform himself of the Mysteries of their Religion (for that Island was famous for the birth of *Jupiter*) as is acknowledg'd by himself in an * Epistle to *Pherecydes*.

* Laert.

That he travell'd also into *Asia* is affirmed in the same Epistle; some say into *Phœnicia*, arguing from his Astrology which he is thought to have learned of the *Phœnicians*, Masters of that Science; and particularly because he is said to have first observed the constellation of the *Lesser Bear* by which the *Phœnicians* sayled. * *Vossius* essaies to prove the word *Cynosura* to be *Phœnician*, not as deriv'd from κύων οὐρά, but from כנס and אור as being a *Collection of light*; or כונש אורא *Umbilicus igneus*.

* De Scient. Mathemat. cap. 32.

His last journey (being * in years) was into *Ægypt*, to conferre (as he acknowledgeth in his Epistle to *Pherecydes*) with Priests and Astronomers. There he was instructed by the Priests at *Memphis*, particularly (saith * *Jamblicus*) by those of *Jupiter*. *Laertius* affirms he learnt Geometry of them; * *Plutarch* implies as much of his Philosophy.

* Plut. de plac. phil. 1.

* Vit. Pythag. 1. 2.

He was there in the reign of * *Amasis*, *by whom much favour'd and admir'd for many things, especially for measuring the height of the Pyramids by the shadow; untill at last accused to him of dis-affection to Monarchs and that kind of Government, to which effect many bitter sayings of his were alledged concerning Tyrants. As when* Molpagoras *an eminent person of* Ionia *demanded what was the strangest sight he ever saw, he answered, a Tyrant old. Another time being at a feast where a question arose, what beasts were most dangerous of wild, saith he, a Tyrant, of tame, a Flatterer; and Princes* (saith *Plutarch*) *however they professe themselves far different from Tyrants, yet take no pleasure in such Apothegmes:* hereupon he lost the favour of *Amasis*. Thus having studied Philosophy in *Ægypt* he returned to *Miletus*, and * transported that vast stock of Learning which he had there collected into his own Country.

Plutarch. Symp. sept. sap. conviu.

* Cyril.

CHAP. IV.

How he lived at Miletus.

HIs life at *Miletus* (as * *Heraclides* affirmes) was retir'd and private; some report hee marrried and had a Son named *Cybissus*, but the truer opinion is of those who say he lived unmarried,

* Laert.

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married and made his *Sister's Son (whom *Plutarch* calls *Cybisthus*) his Heir.* Hee put off his Mother when she first moved him to marry, by telling her it was not yet time, and when hee was more in years, being again sollicited by her, hee answered, nor is it now time, meaning it was then too late. Being demanded why he took not some course to have issue, he answer'd Οὐ φιλοπαιδοκῶ, which is the same in pronouncing with Οὐ φιλοπαιδοκῶ, and may be taken either *because he loved children*, or *did not love them*, as *Casaubon* conjectures; but perhaps his meaning may better bee gather'd out of another answer of his to the same question, *that he did not mean to draw voluntary cares upon his life, and disturb the quiet thereof*; or from this story related by *Plutarch.*

* Laert. Suid. in Vitâ.
* Vitâ Solon.
* Laert. Plut. Sympsiac. 3. 6. Stob. Serm. 66.
* In Laertium.
* Stob. serm. 66.
* Vitâ Solon.

Solon *coming to* Miletus *to visit him, told him that he wondred hee wholly neglected marriage and issue.* Thales *at that time answered nothing, but some few daies after suborned a stranger to pretend that he came within ten daies from* Athens; Solon *demanded what newes from thence; nothing (answered the other as he was instructed) but the buriall of a young man attended by the whole City, being as was said Son of the most eminent person of the City, who at the same time was abroad in travell. Unhappy man (cries* Solon) *what was his name? I heard it answered the other, but have forgot, onely I remember he was very famous for Wisdom and Justice.* Solon's *fear encreasing upon every answer, he at last asked him if the Fathers name were not* Solon, *which the other affirming, he beat his own head, and did other actions accompanied with speeches proper to such as are transported with grief; whereupon* Thales *smiling, and interrupting him; These things,* Solon, *said he, deterr'd me from marriage, which thus disorder even thee a most constant person, but be not troubl'd at this newes, it is counterfeit.*

In this privacy of life he was sollicited and sent unto by many Princes, whose invitations and amities, (*Plutarch* *saith) he refused; visited by many eminent persons.

* Sept. sap. conviv.

*He is said to have cohabited some time with *Thrasibulus* (a man of excellent wit and judgement) who was King, or (according to the Greek word) Tyrant of *Miletus*, *though his reign continued but eleven months; *about the time that the *Milesians* enter'd into a League with *Alyates* the second then King of *Lydia.*

* Laert.
* Arist. pol. 5. ultim.
* Herodot. 1.

CHAP. V.

The attribute of wise conferred on him.

THE attribute of *wise*, as *Plutarch* and Saint *Augustine* observe, was conferr'd upon the rest in respect of their morall rules and practise, but upon *Thales* particularly for his

* Vit. Solon. de civit. dei. 8. 2

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* Laert. speculative Learning. It was first bestow'd on *Thales*, at what time *Damasias* was Archon, *under whom* (according to * *Demetrius Phalareus*) *all the seven were called wise*. The second *Damasias* was Archon in the third year of the 49th. Olympiad, which * *Salmasius* knew not, when to make the words of *Laertius* agree with the first *Damasias*, he misinterpreted *Eusebius* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and subverted all other accounts of the birth and death of *Thales*, whereas this fortunately complies with the times of all the seven.

* Exercitat. plinian. pag. 843.

The first was *Thales* justly preferr'd before the rest in respect of his great Learning, which he owed not to any master; The time when this honour was conferred on him, falls upon the fifty ninth year of his age.

The second, *Pittacus* of *Mitylene* who flourished in the forty second Olympiad, and died in the third year of the fifty second.

The third, *Bias* of *Priene* contemporary with *Pittacus*, living under *Alyattes* and *Crœsus*.

The fourth, *Solon*, who was Archon at *Athens* the third year of the forty sixt Olympiad. He died Olymp. 55.

The fift, *Cleobulus* of *Lindus*, coetaneus with *Solon*.

The sixt, *Myson* of *Chene*.

The seventh, *Chilon* of *Lacedæmon*, who was *Ephoras* Olymp. 56.

The credit and glory of these seven, was much encreased (saith *Plutarch*) *by a Tripod sent round from one to another, by a mutual, noble and modest concession: the occasion related thus by* Laertius *and* Valerius Maximus.

* Laert. * *Some young men of* Ionia *having bought a draught of the Milesian fishermen, when the net was drawn up, there was found in it a Tripod,* * Valer. Maxim. 4. 1. [* a golden Delphick Table of great weight.] * *Hereupon arose a dispute,* * Laert. [* those affirming they had bargain'd onely for the fish, * Val. Max. the others that they bought the draught at a ventures by reason of the strangeness of the case, and value of the Tripod it was * Laert. delivered to the City *Miletus*;] * *The Milesians sent to the Oracle at* Delphi *about it, and received this answer.*

Com'st thou Milesian to consult my shrine?
The Tripod to the wisest I assigne.

Hereupon the Milesians *by agreement presented it to* Thales, *he sent it to* Bias, Bias *to* Pittacus, *he to another, till it past through all the seven, coming at last to* Solon, *who affirming God to be the wisest, sent* * Val. Max. *it back to* Delphi [* giving him at once the title and reward of greatest wisdom.]

But Callimachus *in his Iambicks,* (continueth *Laertius*) *relates it otherwise; that* Bathycles *an Arcadian left a cup, with order that it*

should

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should be given to the wiſeſt, whereupon it was preſented to Thales, *and paſt about in courſe till it came to him again, who then dedicated it to* Apollo Didymæus, *with theſe verſes, according to* Callimachus.

Thales to him that rules th' Ionian State
This twice obtained prize doth conſecrate.

In proſe thus, Thales *the Mileſian, Son of* Examius, *to* Delphian Apollo *of the Grecians offers this twice received prize of eminence. He that carried the Cup from one to another, was* Thyrion *Son to* Bathycles,] whither allude theſe Verſes of * *Phœnix Colophonius.*

* Athen. deipn.

Thales, *whoſe birth his Country bleſt,*
Eſteem'd of all men the beſt,
was of the golden Cup poſſeſt.

Eudoxius *of* Gnidus, *and* Euanthes *of* Miletus, *report that a friend of* Cræſus *having receiv'd from him a golden Cup to be given to the wiſeſt of the Grecians, deliver'd it to* Thales, *and that at laſt it came to* Solon, *who ſending to the Phythian Oracle to know who was the wiſeſt, was anſwer'd* Myſon; *whom* Eudoxius *ſubſtitutes for* Cleobulus, Plato *for* Periander; *the Oracle concerning* Myſon *was this.*

Oſſean Myſon I declare
Wiſer then thoſe that wiſeſt are.

He that was ſent upon the enquiry was Anacharſis. Dædacus *the* Platoniſt, *and* Clearchus *affirm, that the Cup was ſent by* Cræſus *to* Pittacus, *and ſo carried about.* Andron in *Tripode,* (which ſeems to have been a diſcourſe wholy upon this ſubject, and is likewiſe cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus,* to prove that *Thales* and the other ſix flouriſh'd about the fiftieth Olympiad) *writes, that the Argives propoſed this Trypod as a prize to the wiſeſt of the Greeks, and that it was adjudged to* Ariſtodemus *a Spartan, who reſigned it to* Chilon; Ariſtodemus *is mentioned by* Alchæus.

This ſpeech we to *Ariſtodemus* owe,
Money's the man, none's poor and honeſt too.

There are who report that a ſhip richly laden, ſent by Periander *to* Thraſibulus *Tyrant of* Miletus, *was caſt away in the Coan Sea, and the Tripod taken up by ſome Fiſhermen.* Phanodius *affirms it was loſt in the* Athenian *Sea, and afterwards brought to the City, and upon conſultation voted to be ſent to* Bias. *Others ſay this Tripod was made by* Vulcan, *who gave it to* Pelops *as his wives Portion; from him it came to* Menelaus, *and afterwards being taken away with* Hellen *by* Paris, *was by the Lacedæmonian* [Hellen] *thrown into the Sea, calling to mind* * Plut. vit. ſol.

[an

Plut. vit. sol. [*an old Oracle] *that it would prove in time to come the ground of many contentions. After this some Lebeaians fishing thereabouts drew it up, and quarrelling with the fishermen about it, it was brought to* Coos, *but the controversie not decided, the businesse was told to those of* Miletus *which is the chief City of that Country, they sent sent a messenger to demand it, and finding themselves slighted, made war upon the Coans, in which many being slain on both sides, the Oracle declared that the Tripod should be given to the wisest, whereupon both parties with joint consent presented it to* Thales [* The Coans being willing to grant that to a private person, for which they before contested with all the Milesians] *who dedicated it to* Apollo Didymæus; *the effect of the Oracle to the Coans was this.*

Plut. vit. sol.

This Contestation shall continue till
The golden Tripod into th' Ocean cast
By Vulcan, you present to one whose skill
Extends to things to come, present and past.

To the Milesians,

Comest thou Milesian to consult my shrine? *as before.* Thus *Laertius.* * *Plutarch* addes, *that* Thales *said,* Bias *was wiser then himself, whereupon it past to him, from him to another, as wiser; so passing in a circle from one to another, it came at last to* Thales *the second time. Finally it was sent from* Miletus *to* Thebes, *and dedicated to* Ismenian Apollo. Theophrastus *saith it was first sent to* Bias *at* Priene, *then by* Bias *to* Thales *at* Miletus, *so passing through all, it came again to* Bias; *and finally was sent to* Delphi. *This is most generally reported, saving in stead of a Tripod, some say it was a Cup sent from* Crœsus, *others that it was left there by* Bathycles

* Vit. sol.

Thus was the Priority of *Thales* confirmed by the Oracle, for which reason he is by *Cicero* and *Strabo* stiled *Prince of the wise men,* to whom the rest yielded the preheminence.

CHAP. VI.

Of his Philosophy.

* Apud Lactant. de Natura Deor. 1.
* Lib. 14.

THales (saith *Laertius*) *is by many affirm'd to be the first that made disquisitions upon Nature.* * Cicero (who taught the Greek Philosophy first to speak Latine,) acknowledges *Thales* to be the *first Author thereof.* * *Strabo* saith, that he *first of the Grecians made enquiry into naturall Causes and the Mathematicks.* * Plutarch calls him *Inventor of Philosophy;* *Justine Martyr,* * The *most antient of Philosophers;* *Tertullian, first of Naturall Philosophers;* * *Lactantius, the first that made enquiry after Naturall Causes.*

* De plac. phil. 1. 3.
* Paranes. ad Græc.
* Apologet.
* De fals. rel. l. 5.

Sect.

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Sect. 1. *That* Water *is the Principle of all things.*

IN his diſquiſition of the naturall Cauſes of things, he conceived *Water to be the firſt Principle of all naturall Bodies, whereof they conſiſt, and into which they reſolve.* His reaſons (as deliver'd by * *Plutarch*, and repeated by * *Stobæus*) theſe.

* *Placit. philos.* 1.3.

* *Eclog. Phyſ.* 1. 13.

Firſt, *becauſe naturall Seed, the Principle of all living creatures, is humid; whence it is probable that humidity is alſo the principle of all other things.*

Secondly, *becauſe all kinds of Plants are nouriſh'd by moiſture; wanting which, they wither and decay.*

Thirdly, *becauſe Fire, even the Sun it ſelf and the ſtars are nouriſh'd and maintain'd by vapours proceeding from water, and conſequently the whole world conſiſts of the ſame. Whence* Homer *ſuppoſing all things to be engendred of water, ſaith,*

Ωκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσιν πάντεσσι τέτυκται

The Ocean whence all things receive their birth.

In purſuit (* as Ariſtotle ſaith) *of this opinion,* he aſſign'd water the loweſt place, *holding* (according to * *Seneca*) *that the whole Earth lyes, and is carried above the water, whether that we call the Ocean or great Sea, or any ſimple moiſture of another nature, or a moiſt element. By this water* (ſaith he) *the earth is ſuſtained as a great ſhip, which preſſeth upon the water that bears it up, becauſe the moſt weighty part of the world cannot be upheld by the Air, which is ſubtle and light.* Thus is * *Ariſtotle* to be explain'd, who ſaith, *Thales held, that the Earth being capable of ſwimming, reſteth as wood or the like; now of ſuch things, none ſwim upon Air, but upon Water.*

* *Metaph.* 1. 3. * *Natur. quæſt.* 6. 6.

* *Metaphys.* 1. 3

Upon this ground it was that he held *Water* (as *Laertius* ſaith) *to be the cauſe of Earthquakes.* Thus * *Seneca*; *He holds that the Globe of the Earth is upheld by water, and carried as a bark, and floateth by the mobility thereof, at ſuch time as it is ſaid to quake.* One of his reaſons alledged by * *Seneca*, is this, *becauſe in all extraordinary motions thereof ſome new Fountains commonly iſſued, which if they incline to one ſide, and ſhew their keel aſidelong, gather water, which, if it chance the burden they bear be overweighty, raiſeth it ſelfe higher towards the right or left ſide.*

* *Nat. quæſt.* 3. 13.

* *Nat. quæſt.* 6. 6.

From the teſtimony of *Homer*, by which *Thales* (according to *Plutarch* and *Juſtine Martyr*) defended this Tenet (that water is the principle of all things) it is manifeſt it was deliver'd, (though imperfectly) by other Grecians before *Thales*: *Plutarch* * elſe where producing this Authority of * *Heſiod*.

* *Ignis an aqua utilior?*

* *Theogon.*

Πάντων μὲν πρώτιστα χάος γένετ'——

Of all things Chaos *was the firſt*——

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addeth, *the greater part of antient Philosophers called water Chaos* ὑπὸ τὸ χεῖσθαι *from diffusion.* The Scholiast of * *Apollonius* upon these words.

* Argonaut. 4.

——— Ἐξ ἰλύος πλάσθη χθὼν ἅπασα.
The Earth of slime was made,

affirms (citing *Zeno*) that *the Chaos whereof all things were made according to* Hesiod *was water, which setling became slime, the slime condens'd into solid Earth, to which adde this testimony of* * Orpheus.

* Cited by Athenagoras.

ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ἰλὺς πάγη
Of water slime was made.

This opinion they borrow'd from the *Phœnicians*, with whom the Grecians had a very antient correspondence. *Linus* came from thence; *Orpheus* had his learning from thence; as *Thales* is conceived to have done likewise, which appears clearly in * *Numenius*, an antient Philosopher, who cites the very words of *Moses* for this opinion, *The spirit of God moved on the face of the waters.* There is an eminent place in *Eusebius* to prove this; *the divinity of the Phœnicians asserts the principle of this world to be a dark spirituall air, or the spirit of dark air, and Chaos troubled and involv'd in darknesse; that this was infinite and a long time had no bound, but (say they) the spirit being moved with the love of his own principles, there was made a mixtion, which nexure was called love; this was the beginning of the production of all things; but the spirit it self had no generation, and from this connexion of the spirit was begotten* μὸτ, *which some call slime, others corruption of watery mission, and of this was made the seed of all creatures, and the generation of all things.*

* Porphyr. de antro. Nymph.

* Præpar. Evangel. 1. 10.

Nor were the *Indians* ignorant of this, as *Megasthenes* delivers their opinion. * *They are of the same mind in many things with the Grecians, as that the world had beginning, and shall have end; that God its Maker and Governour goes quite through it; that all things had different beginnings, but that of which the world was made was water.*

* Strab. lib. 15.

The word ἀρχὴ, *Principle*, because with Philosophers it includes the efficient cause, and consequently understood singly excludes the rest, that being the most noble, hath given occasion to some to mistake *Thales*, as is by acknowledging no other principle, he consequently accounted *Water* to be *God*; but that *Thales* understands by *Principle* only the material Cause, we may easily gather from *Plutarch*, * who condemneth *Thales* for confounding a *Principle* with an Element, and for holding them to be both one; *Whereas (saith he) there is great difference; Elements are cõpounded, Principles are neither compounded, nor are any compleat substance, & truly water, air, earth, fire we term elements, but principles we call other natures, in this respect that there is nothing precedent to them, wherof they are engendred.*

* De placit. philot. 1. 2.

For

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For otherwise, if they were not the first, they would not be Principles, but that rather should be so termed whereof they were made. Now certaine things there are precedent whereof Earth and water are compounded, viz. The first informe matter, and the forme it selfe and privation. Thales *therefore erres, affirming Water to be both Element and principle of all things.* Thus we see by *Plutarch*, that the objection can onely be as to the name, not to reason of the name; for the distinction of principle and element being not used in that time, *Thales* by principle, meant nothing of the efficient cause which is most certaine from *Aristotle*. *Thales*, saith, he *affirmes water to be the principle: wherefore he held the earth to be above the water; perhaps hee conceived so, because he saw that the nutriment of all things is humid, that heat it selfe consists thereof, and that every creature lives thereby; He held that of which things are made to be the principls of all things, for these reasons he was of this opinion, as also because the seeds of all things are of a humid nature, and water is the principle of things humid.* Metaphys. 1. 3.

Sect. 2. Of God.

TErtullian saith, that *Thales* to *Crœsus*, *enquiring concerning the Deity, gave no certaine accompt, but desired several all times of deliberating to no effect.* He seemes to reflect upon the same or a like story to that which is reported of *Simonides* and *Hieron*. Apologet. contra. gentes.

But what the opinion of *Thales* was concerning *God*, may bee gather'd from two Apothegmes cited by *Laertius*, repeated with this glosse by * *Clemens Alexandrinus*; *And what are not those the sayings of* Thales *that are derived from hence, That God is glorify'd for ever and ever, and he openly confesseth that he is called* τὸν πανόπτην, hee *who knoweth Hearts. For* Thales *being demanded what God was, that* (saith he) *which hath neither beginning nor end. Another asking if a man might doe ill and conceale it from God.* How saith he, *when a man that thinkes it cannot? Men ought to think* (sayes * *Cicero* in his name) *that the Gods see all things.* * Stromat. 5. * De legib. 2.

He acknowledged God the first of beings, and Author of the world, asserting (according to *Laertius*) that *the most antient of all things is God, for he is not begotten*; that *the fairest is the world, for it is his work.* This is confirmed by *Cicero*. *Thales the Milesian* (saith he) *who first enquired into these things, said, that water was the principle of things, but that God was that mind which formed all things of water. If Gods may be without sence and mind, why did he joyn the mind to water? why water to the mind, if the mind can subsist without a body?* Thus *Cicero* who understands *Thales* to intend the materiall principle to be co-eternall with the efficient; which *Thales* himselfe seems not to mean, when he declared God to be the first of Beings. But that the *Mens* of *Anaxagoras*, for the annexing of which to matter, he was so much famed, was no more then what he borrowed from *Thales*, the words *of Cicero* make good. * De natur. deor. 1.

He

He affirmed that God by the immutable decree of his providence governs the world. *Thales* (saith *Stobæus*) *being demanded what was most strong, answered Necessity, for it rules all the world. Necessity is the firm judgment and immutable power of providence.* Hither we must likewise referre what is cited under his name by the same *Stobæus*, that *the first mover is immovable*, which **Aristotle* hath borrow'd from him, not owning the Author.

* *Physic.* 8. 7.

Something imperfectly was before delivered by *Orpheus*, concerning God, alledged by * *Clemens Alexandrinus* and others; but as *Cicero* saith, Thales *was the first among the Grecians, who made any search into these things*; and that he brought it out of *Ægypt*, the Grecians themselves deny not, *for they acknowledge, that they received the names of their Gods from thence, and beleeved the Ægyptians to be the first, who looking up to the world above them, and admiring the nature of the universe, reflected upon the Deity.

* *Admonit. ad gent.*

**Herodot. lib.* 2.

Sect. 3. *Of Dæmons.*

* *Placit. Philos.* 1. 8.

THales (*saith* *Plutarch) *with* Pythagoras, Plato, *and the* Stoicks *hold, that* Dæmons *are spirituall substances, and the Hero's souls separated from the bodies, of which sort, there are two, good, and bad, the good Hero's are the good souls, the bad, the bad.* The same order* *Athenagoras* attests to be observed by *Thales*, ranking the three degrees thus: First, that of the immortall Gods, next Dæmons, thirdly Heroes: This was followed by *Pythagoras*, that *the Gods were to be prefered in reverence before* Dæmons, Hero's *before* men.

* *Apolog.*

He affirm'd (as *Stobæus* saith) *the world to be full of these* Dæmons. This is thought the meaning of that of * *Aristotle*, repeated by *Cicero*, Thales *thought that all things were full of Gods.* The same assertion *Laertius* ascribes to *Pythagoras*, *that all the aire is full of souls, which are* Hero's *and* Dæmons.

**De anima.* 1. 8.
* *de legib.* 2.
* *Vit. Pythag.*

This opinion was asserted by the Greeks, before the time of *Thales*, particularly by *Hesiod*; but whether that be argument enough, to deny, that *Thales* had it from the Ægyptians, I question; that they held it in the same manner, we may learn by * *Iamblichus*. Besides, *Pythagoras* and *Plato* (whom *Plutarch* joynes in this Tenet with *Thales*) drew their learning from the same fountain.

* *De myster. Egypt. sub initio*

Sect. 4. *Of the Soul.*

* *De plac. Phil.* 4. 2.

PLutarch and *Stobæus* say, that *Thales first affirm'd the soul to be* ἀυτοκίνητον, *a selfe moving nature.* * *Aristotle* that he calls it αὐτόκινον in respect to the motion it gives to other things, in which are included both parts of the definition of the * *Platonists*, *a sub-*

**De anima.* 1. 2.
* *Plato in time.*

stance

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ſtance, having within it ſelfe a power to move it ſelfe and other things: which *Plato* argues to this effect: *The firſt of motions is that whereby a thing moves it ſelfe; the ſecond, that whereby it moves another: every thing that moves it ſelfe, lives; every living thing lives, becauſe it moves it ſelfe, therefore the power of ſelfe motion is the eſſence of that ſubſtance which we call the ſoul, which ſoul is the cauſe of the firſt generation and motion of things which are, were, and ſhall be; and of all their contraries, as of all tranſmutation, the principall of motion, and therefore more antient than the body, which it moves by a ſecond motion.* And afterwards declares theſe to be the names of the ſouls motion, *to will, to conſider, to take care, to conſult, to judge rightly, and not rightly, to joy, to grieve, to dare, to fear, to hate, to love*, and the like. *Theſe which are the firſt motions, and ſuſcipient of the ſecond corporall, bring all things into augmentation, and decreaſe, converſion, or condenſation, and deſcretion, or rarefaction.* This opinion firſt raiſed by *Thales*, was entertained in the ſchooles with the aſſent of * *Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Socrates*, and *Plato*, till exploded by *Ariſtotle*, whoſe chief arguments againſt it were theſe. 1. That nothing is moved but what is in place, nothing in place but what hath quantity, which becauſe the ſoul wants, none of the foure kinds of motion (*viz.* Lation, Alteration, diminution, accretion) are competible (*per ſe*) to her. Secondly, that ſelfe motion is not eſſentiall to the Soul, becauſe ſhe is moved accidentally, by externall objects. The firſt, if underſtood of Circumſcription, not only denies the motion of all things, that are definitively in place, as ſpirits, but of the higheſt ſphear, if compared with *Ariſtotles* definition of place; yet that ſome of theſe ſpecies of motion, though in a different extraordinary manner, are competent to the ſoul, and not accidentally, may be argued 1. From the further diffuſion of the ſoul, according to the augmentation of the body. 2. From intellection, which is acknowledg'd a perfection, and conſequently a kind of alteration, which that *Thales* underſtood to be one of the ſoul's motions, is clear from that Apothegme aſcribed to him by *Laertius*, *the ſwifteſt of things is the mind, for it over-runs all things*: Whence * *Cicero* (confeſſing almoſt in the very words of *Thales*, that *nothing is ſwifter then the mind*, that no *ſwiftneſſe may compare with the ſwiftneſſe of the mind*) would interpret the ἀπειρία of *Ariſtotle*, a *continued and perpetuall motion.*

* *Stob. Ecl. phys. lib. 1.*

* *Ariſt. de anim. 2.*

* *Tuſcul. queſt. 1.*

The ſecond reaſon may be queſtioned by comparing the acts of the *memory*, and *reminiſcence*; the firſt occaſion'd by exterior things, yet *objective* only, ſo that the motion is within her ſelfe; but by the other ſhe moves her ſelfe, from a privation to a habit, without the help of any exterior.

It is worth notice, that among theſe and other reaſons alledg'd by * *Ariſtotle* to deſtroy this aſſertion, one is the poſſibility of the reſurrection of the body; but this ἐν παρέργῳ.

* *De anima 1. 3.*

From the ſecond part of the difference in the definition (*viz.*

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from moving other things) *Thales* argued, that the *Load-ſtone*, and *Amber* had ſoules; the firſt becauſe it drawes Iron, the ſecond Straw. *He further* (ſaith *Laertius*) *aſſerted thoſe things we count inanimate, to have ſouls, arguing it from the loadſtone and Amber*: the reaſon of which latter example, * *Aldobrandinus* falſely interprets its change of colour, and jarring as it were at poiſon: But * *Ariſtotle* more plainly, *for of thoſe whom we mentioned*, Thales *ſeems to have taken the ſoul to be ſomething livelier, apt to move, ſince he affirmed a ſtone to have a ſoul, becauſe it moved Iron.*

* *In Laert.*

* *De anima. l. 2*

He aſſerted likewiſe the ſoul (of man) to be immortall, and according to * *Cherilus*, was the firſt that held ſo. * *Cicero* aſcribes the originall of this opinion to *Pherecydes*, but it rather ſeems to have been brought by *Thales* from the Egyptians; that they held ſo * *Herodotus* atteſts.

* *Laert.*

* *Tuſc. quæſt. l.*

* *Lib. 2.*

Sect. 5. *Of the World.*

* *Plutarch. de plac. phil. 2. 1.*

* *Laert.*

* *De Coelo. 1. 10. 12.*

THales held, * that *there was but one world*, and that * *made by God*; which truth was follow'd by all Philoſophers, as * *Ariſtotle* confeſſeth, untill he rejected it, to defend, by the contrarie an aſſertion equally falſe, that the world is everlaſting, *which could not be*, ſaith he, *if it had beginning.*

* *Laert.*

* *De plac. phil. 2. 1.*

That * *the world being Gods work, is the faireſt of things, whatſoever diſpoſed in lively order, being a part thereof*, for which reaſon *Pythagoras* (according to * *Plutarch*) called it firſt κόσμον.

* *Timoth.*

* *Damaſcen.*

* *Tacit. de mor. Germ.*

* *Cæſar de bello Gal. 6.*

That *night is elder then day.* This circumſtance of the creation was held likewiſe by * *Orpheus*, and *Heſiod*, who had it from the *Phœnicians*: for this reaſon the * *Numidians*, * *Germans*, * and * *Gaules* reckoned by nights.

* *Laert.*

* *Plut. de plac. phil.*

That *the* * *world is animated*, and *that* * *God is the ſoul thereof, diffus'd through every part, whoſe divine moving vertue penetrats through the element of water.* Thus explain'd by the *Hermetick* Philoſophers; the divine ſpirit who produc'd this world out of the firſt water, being infus'd as it were, by a continuall inſpiration into the works of nature, and diffus'd largely through, by a certain ſecret, and continuall act, moving the whole, and every particular according to its kind, is the ſoul of the world.

* *Laert. Plut. ſept. ſap. conviv.*

That *the* * *World is contained in place.* This agrees with the definition of place by *ſpace*; but they who with *Ariſtotle* define place a *ſuperficies*, though they hold the parts of the world to be in place, are forced to deny the whole to be ſo.

Plut. de plac. phil. 1. 18.

That *in the world there is no vacuum*, in which (as *Plutarch* obſerves) all Philoſophers agree, who affirm the world to be animated, and govern'd by providence; the contrary defended by thoſe who maintain that it conſiſteth of Atomes, is inanimate, not governed by providence.

* *Plut. de plac. phil. 1. 9.*

That * *matter is fluid and variable.*

That

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That * *Bodies are passible and divisible in infinitum, and continuous as are also a line, superficies, place, and time.* * *Plu t. de plac phil. 1. 16.*

That * *mistion is made by composition of the elements.*

That * *the starrs are earthly, yet fiery;* * *the Sun earthly. They who affirm the starres to be fiery,* saith * *Aristotle, hold so, as conceiving the whole superiour body to be fire.* * *Plut. de plac. phil. 2. 13. Achill. Tat. Isag in Arat.*

That *the Moon is of the same nature with the Sun, that she is illuminat d by him. Plutarch,* and *Stobæus* affirm this to be first held by *Thales,* though *Eudemus* cited by *Theon* ascribe it to *Anaximander.* * *De cœlo. 2. 7. Plut. de plac. phil. 2. 28.*

That *the monthly occultations of the Moon are caused by the neerness of the Sun shining roundher.*

That *there is but* * *one earth,* * *round, in fashion of a Globe;* * *seated in the midst of the world,* to which relates that speech ascribed to him by *Cleodemus,* that, *if the earth were taken out of the world, there must of necessity follow a confusion of all things.* * *Plut. de plac. phil. 3. 9.* * *Plut. de plac. phil 3. 10.* * *Plut de plac. phil. 3. 11.*

That * *the overflowing of Nilus is caused by the Etesian (yearly) winds,* which rise with the Dog star, after the summer solstice, and beginning to blow from the North, spread (as * *Aristotle* describes them) into remote quarters. *These* (saith * *Plutarch*) *blowing directly against Ægypt, cause the water so to swell, that the sea driven by these winds, entereth within the mouth of that River, and hindereth it, that it cannot discharge it selfe freely into the Sea, but is repulsed. Whereupon* (addes * *Diodorus Siculus*) *it overflowes Ægypt, which lyeth low and levell. But this reason, though it seem plausible, is easily disproved: for if this were true, all the Rivers which are discharged into the Sea, opposite to the Etesian winds, should have the same overflowing.* Thus *Diodorus* in his excellent discourse upon this subject, which concludes with the opinion of *Agatharchides,* that it is occasion'd by rain, coming from the mountaines of *Ethiopia.* * *Sept. sap. convi.* * *Laert.* * *Meteor. 2. 6.* * *De plac. phil.* * *Lib. 1.*

CHAP. VII.

Of his Geometry.

APuleius, who calls *Thales the inventer of Geometry amongst the Grecians,* is more just to his memory then *Antiphon* and others, who ascribe the honour thereof to *Mœris,* or to *Pythagoras,* who by the acknowledgment of * *Iamblichus,* a Pythagorean, learnt Mathematicks of *Thales.* The originall and progresse of this science, to the perfection it received from *Pythagoras* (which gave occasion to that mistake) is thus delivered by *Proclus,* *Florid. lib. 4. Laert. vit. Pythag.* * *De vita. Pythag. 1. 2.* *In Euclid. 2. 4.*

Geometry was invented by the Egyptians, taking its beginning from measuring fields, it being necessary for them, by reason of the inundation of Nilus, *which washed away the bounds of their severalls. Nor is it to be wondered at, that as well this, as other sciences, should have their beginning from commodiousnesse and opportunity; since, as is said in generation, it*

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it proceeds from imperfect to perfect; therefore not without reason is the transition from sense to consideration, and from consideration to the mind. As therefore among the Phœnicians, by reason of merchandise and traffick, the certain knowledge of numbers had its beginning; so likewise among the Ægyptians, Geometry was found out upon the foresaid occasion; and Thales going to Egypt, first brought over this science into Greece: and many things he found out himself, and taught his followers the principles of many things, declaring some more generally, other things more plainly. Next him Ameristus, brother to Stesichorus the Poet, is remembred, * as having touched Geometry, of whom Hippias the Elean makes mention, as eminent in that knowledge: After these Pythagoras considering the principles thereof more highly, advanced it into a liberall science.

* Supply the breach in the text, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς λοιπῆς εἰς τὸν τοιοῦτον μεταβάσεως, &c. So Barocius translates

* Reade, ὡς ἐφαλόμενος τῆς περὶ γεωμετρίαν ἀκριβείας, μνημονεύεται.

Sect. 1. *Propositions invented by him.*

THat he improved (as *Proclus* implies) the Geometry which he learnt of the Ægyptians with many propositions of his own, is confirmed by *Laertius*, who saith, that *he much advanced those things, the invention whereof* Callimachus *in his Iambicks, ascribes to* Euphorbus *the Phrygian, as scalenous triangles, and others.* Nor is it to be doubted, but that many of them are of those, which *Euclid* hath reduced into his Elements; whose design it was to collect and digest those that were invented by others, accurately demonstrating such as were more negligently proved, but of them only, these are known to be his.

*Lib. 1. def. 17. * in Euclid lib. 2. com. 14.

[1. *Every Diameter divides its circle into two equall parts.*] This proposition which *Euclid* makes part of the definition of a Diameter, * *Proclus* affirmes to have been first demonstrated by *Thales.*

* Euclid. lib. 1. prop. 5. * lib. 3. com. 9.

2. [* *In all Isosceles triangles, the angles at the base are equall the one to the other, and those right lines being produced, the angles under the base are equall.*] * *Proclus* saith, that *for the invention of this likewise, as of many other propositions, we are beholding to* Thales, *for he first observed and said, that of every Isosceles, the angles at the base are equall, and according to the antients called equall like.* These are three passages in the demonstration, which infer nothing toward the conclusion, of which kind there are many in *Euclid*, and seem to confirm the antiquity thereof, and that it was lesse curiously reformed by him.

* Euclid. lib. 1. prop. 15. Procl. lib. 3. com. 19.

3. [*If two lines cut one the other, the verticle angles shall equall the one the other.*] * *Eudemus* attests this theorem to have been invented by *Thales*, but first demonstrated by *Euclid.*

Euclid lib. 1. prop. 26. * Procl. lib. 3. com. 31.

4. [* *If two triangles have two angles equall to two angles the one to the other, and one side equall to one side, either that which is adjacent to the equall angles, or that which subtendeth one of the equall angles, they shall likewise have the other sides, equall to the other sides, both to both, and the remaining angle equall to the remaining angle*] * Eudemus

attri-

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attributes this theorem (saith *Proclus*) *to* Thales, *for showing the distance of ships upon the Sea, in that manner as he is said to do, it is necessary that he perform it by this.*

Pamphila (saith *Laertius*) *affirmes, that he first described the rectangle triangle of a circle.*] *Ramus* attributes to *Thales* (upon this authority of *Laertius*) the second, third, fourth, and fifth propositions of the fourth book of *Euclid*, which are concerning the adscription of a triangle and a circle, and consequently takes κατεγράψατο here to include both inscription, and circumscription; whereas in all those propositions, there is nothing proper to a rectangle triangle; so that if the word ὀρθογώνιον be retain'd, it must relate to the 31 proposition of the third book, whence may be deduced the description of a rectangle triangle in a circle. But because there is no such proposition in *Euclid*, and this hath but an obscure reference to part of that theorem; it is to be doubted that the Text of *Laertius* is corrupt, and the word (or mark) κύκλε insered by accident, without which these words κατεγράψατο τὸ τριγωνὸν ὀρθογώνιον exactly correspond with those of * *Vitruvius*, *Pythagoricum trigonum orthogonium describere*: by which he means (as he at large expresseth * elsewhere,) the forty fifth proposition of the first book of *Euclid*, *that in rectangle triangles, the square of the hypotenuse, is equall to the square of the sides containing the right angle.* That *Vitruvius*, *Proclus*, and others, attribute this invention to *Pythagoras*, confirmes it to be the same here meant by *Laertius*; who addes, that *Thales, for the invention hereof, sacrificed an Oxe, though others* (saith he) *among whom is* Apollodorus, *ascribe it to* Pythagoras. And in the life of *Pythagoras*, he cites the same *Apollodorus*, that *Pythagoras sacrificed a Hecatomb, having found out, that the hypotenuse of a right angled triangle, is of equall power to the two sides, including the right angle, according to the Epigram*

* Geom.

* Lib. 10. cap. 11.

* Lib. 9. cap. 2.

That noble scheme *Pythagoras* devis'd,
For which a Hecatomb he sacrific'd.

Cicero, though he differ in the Author, agrees in the quantity of the offering with *Laertius*; affirming, that *Pythagoras upon any new invention, used to sacrifice an Ox*: Which kind of gratitude begun by *Thales*, was imitated by others also, as by *Perseus*,

* *Finding three spirall lines, in sections five,*
Perseus *an offering to the Gods did give.*

* Procl. in Euclid. lib. 2. def. 4. where the words perhaps are inverted, and for τρεῖς γραμμὰς ἐπὶ μιᾶς τομῆς δυεὶν τὰς ἐπὶ ἑκατέρας ἴσην.

F Sect.

Sect. 2. *Of his taking the height of the Pyramids.*

THe Pyramids of *Egypt* are supposed by * *Solinus*, * *Ausonius*, * *Ammianus*, * *Marcellinus*, and * *Cassiodorus*, to cast no shadow at all, which (as Master *Greaves* hath observed in his excellent discourse upon this subject) must be meant either of the summer time, or, which is neerer the truth, that for three quarters of the year, they have none at mid-day.

* *Polyhist. cap. 25.*
* *Idyll. 2.*
* *Lib. 22.*
* *Var. 7. form. 15.*

For, that *Thales* by the shadow measured their height, is acknowledged. * *Hieronymus* saith, *he measured the Pyramids by the shadow, observing when they are of equall bigness.* * *Pliny* affirmes, *he found out a way to take the height of them, and all such like, by measuring the shadow, at what time it is equall to the body.* But *Plutarch* hath given a more regular and exact account of his manner of operation, *by erecting a staffe perpendicular upon the end of the shadow of the Pyramid, and by two triangles made by the beams of the Sun, he demonstrated, that what proportion there was between the shadows, the same was betwixt the Pyramid and the staffe*: A demonstration so rationall, that it is the ordinary way of taking heights by shadowes, founded upon this theorem.

* *Laert.*
* *Lib. 36. cap. 12.*

* *Euclid. lib. 6. prop. 4.* * *Of equiangle triangles, the sides that are about equall angles are proportionall, and the sides that subtend the equall angles are homologous.*

Which if *Proclus* had proceeded as far as the sixth book of *Euclid*, we should in all likelyhood have found ascribed to *Thales*; for the same argument wherewith *Eudemus* proves him inventor of the fourth theorem in the foregoing Section, whereby he took distances, is of equall force in this, whereby he took altitudes.

The height of the great Pyramid (which *Thales* measured) is by its perpendicular (according to Mr. *Greaves*) 499 feet, by its inclining ascent, 693 feet.

CHAP. VIII.

Of his Astronomy.

OMitting the fable of *Orpheus*'s Harp, alluding to the seven Planets, and the observations of *Hesiod*, which were little more then of the rising and setting of some principall Starres, (so imperfect, that *Plato* calls all those who satisfie themselves with such superficiall knowledge, *Astronomers according to Hesiod*) we may with *Eudemus* and others affirme, that *Thales was the first of the Grecians that was skilfull in Astronomy.* Which Science, * *Pliny* asserts to have been brought out of *Phœnicia*; * *Aristotle* that the Grecians owe much of it to the Ægyptians, where it had

* *lib. 5. Cap. 17.*
* *de Cœlo. 2. 12.*

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had been of a long time practised: Thither indeed * *Thales* acknowledgeth that he travelled to confer with Astronomers. * *Epist. ad. Pherecyd.*

Sect. 1. *Of the Celestiall Spheare.*

Thales, Pythagoras (saith * *Plutarch*, repeated by * *Stobæus*) *with his followers affirm, that the Celestiall spheare is devided into five Circles* (*which they call* Zones) *whereof one is call'd Arctick, and is alwaies in view to us; one the Summer Tropick, one the Equinoctiall, one the Winter Tropick, one the Antartick circle, never seen by us. The oblique Circle called the Zodiack, lyeth under the three middle circles, it toucheth them all three as it passeth, and each of them is cut in right angles by the Meridian, which goeth from Pole to Pole. Unjustly therefore is the invention of the Zones ascribed by* * Posidonius *to* Parmenides; *and that of the obliquity of the Zodiack by* * *others to* Anaximander, Pythagoras, *or* Ænipodes. * *De plac. phil.* * *Strab. lib. 2.* * *Plin. 2. 8.*

* *Eudemus* saith, that *he first observ'd the Tropicks*; *Laertius*, that *he first found out the accession of the Sun from Tropick to Tropick*. The word τροπαι signifies not only the Solstices, but the Equinoxes likewise: * *Sextus Empiricus. The Tropick signes are those into which the Sun comming, changeth and maketh conversions of the air; such a sign is* Aries, *and the opposite to it* Libra; *so also* Capricorn *and* Cancer: *for in* Aries *is made the vernall conversion, in* Capricorn *the winter, in* Cancer *the Summer, in* Libra *the autumnall.* This exposition *Laertius* confirmes, when he saith that *Thales composed only two treatises, one of the Tropicks, the other of the Equinoctialls; and that he distinguished the seasons of the year.* * *Laert.* * *Advers. mathem. 5. 2.*

Sect. 2. *Of the Sun, Moon, and Starres.*

HE first observed the Apparent diameter of the Sun, which is the angle made in the eye, to be the 720 part of his orbe: This doubtlesse is the meaning of *Laertius*, his words these, και τρόπους τε τῶν ἡλίου μεγεθῶν τὸν σεληνιακὸν ἐκπύρωσιν καὶ ἔκλειψιν πρῶτος ἀνέφηνεν. Then which reading, which implies the Sun to be 720 times lesser then the Moon, nothing is more ridiculous; for knowing (as is granted by all) the cause of Eclipses, he must likewise know the Sun to be greater then the Moon: nor is it much mended by those who read ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μείζονος ἢ τῆς σελήνης. The text seems rather to require ζώδιον for σελήνης or something to that effect, of which, thus * *Archimedes*, *this we suppose when* Aristarchus *saith the Sun appeareth, as being the 720 part of the circle of the* Zodiack; *for he considered how he might by instruments take the angle made in the eye by the Suns apparent diameter: but to take any such thing exactly is not easie; for neither the sight, nor the hand, nor the instruments wherewith the observations made, are of credit sufficient to demonstrate it exactly.* This correction *Apuleius* thus confirmes. * *in Arenario.*

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*In his declining age he made an excellent demonstration of the proportion of the Sun, which I have not only learned (*saith *Apuleius) but confirmed by practise, how many times the Suns magnitude is comprehended in the circle which his motion makes. This, as soon as he found out,* Thales *shew'd to* Mandraytus *of* Priene, *who being infinitely delighted with this new and unexpected knowledge, bad him ask what he would in recompence for such an excellent invention: It will be reward enough for me, said* Thales, *if what you have learned of me, whensoever you communicate it to others, you professe me to be the Inventor.*

*Laert. & Achill. Tat. Isag. in Arat.

He first found out the constellation of the lesser Bear, * Callimachus

He to Miletus *said, invited*
By Thales *glory, who quick-sighted*
Is said i'have mark'd the lesser Bear,
The starre by which Phœnicians steer.

Higynus affirmes that he first called it Ἄρκτος, *the Bear.*

Sect. 3. *Of Eclipses.*

HE *was the first* (saith *Laertius*) *that foretold Eclipses, as* Eudemus *affirmes in his Astrologick history; for which* Zenophanes *and* Herodotus *admire him; attested also by* Heraclitus *and* Democritus. *Theon, Smyrnæus,* and *Clemens Alexandrinus* cite the same place of *Eudemus*; the scope of whose book was the History of Astrologers, and what every one found out. Thus likewise *Pliny, Amongst the Grecians, the first that search'd into Eclipses, was* Thales, *the Milesian.*

* *De placit. phil.* 2. 2.

* *Plutarch* affirmes, that *he was the first that observed the Eclipse of the Sun, and said, that it was occasion'd by the Moon, comming in a direct line underneath him, which may be seen in a bason of water, or looking glass.*

* *Plut. de plac. phil.* 2. 28.

* *That the Eclipse of the Moon is caused by the shadow of the earth, which being placed betwixt these two starres, darkens the lesser.*

* *Lib.* 1.

The testimony of *Herodotus*, alledg'd by *Laertius* is this: * *A five years war was raised between the Lydians and the Medes, in which, sometimes the Medes had the better of the Lydians, sometimes the Lydians of the Medes, and one battle was fought by night: The war being thus equall on both sides, in the sixth year, the Armies being joyned, it happened that as they were fighting, the day on a sudden became night; which alteration of that day,* Thales *a Milesian had fortold the Ionians, designing the year wherein it should happen. The Lydians and Medes seeing the day turned to night, left off fighting; and laboured to conclude a mutuall peace,* which by the mediation of *Syennesis* King of *Cilicia,* and *Labnitus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Scaliger* conceives to be *Nebuchadnezzar*) was concluded, with the marriage of *Aryæna* daughter of *Alyattes*, with *Astyages*, son of *Cyaxares*, ratifi'd by drinking blood. This

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This is the ſtory of that memorable Eclipſe, the time whereof is uncertain: * *Pliny* placeth it in the fourth year of the fortie eight Olympiad, before the building of *Rome* 170 years: * *Solinus* in the 49 Olympiad, the 604 year after the deſtruction of *Troy*; which falls upon the firſt year of that Olympiad. * *Clemens Alexandrinus* (citing *Eudemus*) about the fiftieth Olympiad, at what time *Cyaxares* father of *Aſtyages* raigned in *Media*: *Alyattes* father of *Croeſus* in *Lydia*. *Euſebius* in the ſecond year of the fortie eight Olympiad, 1430 years after *Abraham*. *Cleomedes* ſaith, it was totall in *Helleſpont* in *Alexandria*, but of ten digits. * *Johannes Antiochenus* ſaith, *it continued many hours*; but they could not exceed three.

* *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 12.
* *cap.* 20.
* *Strom.* 1.
* *Lib.* 6. ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας, περιεσκότωτο, ὥστε τοὺς φιλοσόφους τηνικαῦτα ἐκλιπεῖν τὸν ἥλιον. *the M. S. prepared for the Preſſe in the hands of my honoured friend* Edward Byth[e] *Eſq.*

Of latter writers differing accounts thereof are delivered by theſe.

Ricciolus placeth it before the incarnation 585 years, May 28. about 6 a clock in the afternoon, the digits eclipſed 12. 56.

Calviſius before the incarnation 607 years. Olymp. 43. 4. differing from *Pliny* 18. years.

The learned Biſhop of *Armagh*, in the raign of *Cyaxares* Olymp. 44. 4. the 147 year of *Nabonaſſar*, the fourth day of the Egyptian Month *Pachon*, according to the Julian accompt *Septemb.* 20. *feria* 1. begining after Sun-riſe 1[h]. 3[m]. 25[s]. digits eclipſed 9. continuing almoſt two howers.

Petavius Olympiad 45. 4. Julian period 4117. before the incarnation 597, after the building of *Rome* 157. *July* 9. feria 3 beginning after midnight 4[h] 45[m]. digits eclipſed 9. 22[m]. continuance full two howers.

Kocca confutes *Petavius*, becauſe that eclips ſuits not with the circumſtances of the ſtory, as beginning too early in the morning, and being defective as to the quantity in *Pontus* and leſſer *Aſia*.

Lanſbergius, Olympiad 48. 3. the 163 year of *Nabonaſſar*, the 12 day of *Tybi*, which is *May* 28. digits eclipſed 12. 20[m] in *Helleſpont*: 10. 12[m]. in *Alexandria*.

Kepler, *Scaliger*, *Buntingus*, and *Salianus*, follow *Pliny*: digits eclipſed (according to *Buntingus*) 11. 30[m].

Neither is it eaſie to determine whether this variety ariſe from the incertainty of the Aſtronomers, or of the Chronologers.

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Sect. 4. *Of the Year.*

LAertius saith, that *he distinguished the seasons of the year*, that *he first called the last day of every month* νουμηνίαν the thirtieth day: that he *divided the year into three hundred sixtie five daies.*

This calculation of the year he seem'd to have learned in *Egypt*, where it was in use, thus explained and commended by * *Herodotus*, *the Egyptians were of all men the first that found out the year, distinguishing it into twelve months; this they gathered from the starres, and more judiciously (in my opinion) then the Grecians, for as much as the Grecians every third year, intercalate a month to make up the time; but the Ægyptians to the number of 360 daies, which twelve months make, adde yearly five daies, whereby the accompt of the circle of time returning into its selfe is made good.*

* lib. 2.

This was called in latter times, *the Egyptian year* (perhaps because used by *Ptolomy*, who lived in *Ægypt*) in distinction from the *Julian year*, which was then used in all the western parts, and hath the addition of six howers: The most perfect is the *Gregorian*, consisting of three hundred sixty five daies, five houres, forty nine Minutes, twelve seconds.

Sect. 5. *His Astrologicall Prædictions.*

THales being earnestly addicted to Astrologie, became obnoxious to the censure of some persons. *As he was led abroad one night by an old woman*, his Maid (a * *Thracian*) *to look upon the Starres, he fell into a ditch* (wherein she purposely led him) *to whom as he complained*, Thales, *said she, do you think, when you cannot see those things that are at your feet, that you can understand the heavens?*

* Plat.

He was also, for preferring this study before wealth, reproved by some friends, not without reproach to the *Science*, as conferring no advantage on its professors; whereupon he thus vindicated himselfe and the art from that aspersion. *When they upbraid him*, saith * *Aristotle*, *with his poverty, as if Philosophy were unprofitable, it is said, that he by Astrology, foreseeing the plenty of Olives that would be that year, before the winter was gone* (antequam florere cæpissent, saith * *Cicero*) *gave earnest, and bought up all the places for oyle at* Miletus, *and* Chios, *which he did with little mony, there being no other chapmam at that time to raise the price; and when the time came that many were sought for in hast, he setting what rates on them he pleas'd, by this means got together much money, and then shew'd, that it was easie for Philosophers to be rich, if they would themselves, but that wealth was not their aim.* To this *Plutarch* alludes, when he said, that *Thales is reported to have practised Merchandise.*

* Pol. 1. 7.

* De divinat. 1.

CHAP.

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CHAP. IX.

His Morall Sentences.

OF his Morall Sentences those are first to bee remembred which *Plutarch* mentions upon this occasion. * Sept. sap. conv.

Amasis King of *Egypt* entring into contestation with the King of *Æthiopia* concerning wisedome, propounded these questions to be resolved by him; *what is eldest of all things, what fairest, what greatest, what wisest, what most common, what most profitable, what most hurtfull, what most powerfull, what most easie?*

The answers of the *Æthiopian* were these, the oldest of things is time, the wisest Truth, the fairest Light, the most common Death, the most profitable God, the most hurtfull the Devill, the most powerfull Fortune, the most easie that which pleaseth. *Thales* demanded of *Niloxenus*, whether *Amasis* approved these solutions? *Niloxenus*, who was sent by *Amasis* into Greece with these other questions to be resolved by the Sages, answered that with some he was satisfied, with others not; *and yet*, replyes *Thales, there is not one but is erroneus and betrayes ignorance. As for the first, how can it be defended that Time is the eldest of things, when one part of it is past, the other present, the third yet to come, for that which is to come must in reason be esteemed younger then all men or things? Next to to affirme the truth is wisedome, is as much as if we should say, that the Light and seeing are all one. Againe, if he esteeme Light faire, why doth he forget the Sunne? His answers concerning God and the Devill are bold and dangerous, but that of Fortune most improbable, for if she be so powerfull, how comes it that she is so easily changed. Nor is Death the most common, for it is not common to the Living. The most ancient of things is God, for he never had beginning or birth, the greatest place of the world containeth all other things, place containes the world; the fairest the world, for whatsoever is order dispos'd is part thereof. The wisest is time, for it hath found out all things already devis'd, and will find out all that shall be; the most common hope, for that remaines with such as have nothing else; the most profitable, vertue, for it maketh all things usefull & commodious* * Etiam apud Stob. serm. 109. *the most hurtfull vice, for it destroyeth all good things; the most powerfull Necessity, for that onely is invincible; the most easie, that which agreeth with nature, for even pleasures are many times given over and cloy us.* Etiam apud. Stob. serm. 46.

To which Apothegmes these are added by *Laertius*, *The swiftest of things is the mind, for it over-runs all. Hee affirmed that there is no difference betwixt life and death; being thereupon asked why hee did not die; because saith he, there is no difference; to one who asked which was eldest, night or day; he answered night by a day; Another enquiring whether a man might do ill and conceale it from the Gods; nor think it, said he. To an Adulterer questioning him if hee might not cleare himselfe by oath,*

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* οὐ χεῖον ἐπιορκίας ἐπιορκία: not as counselling the latter but reproving the former.

oath, *Perjury, saies he, is no worse then Adultery: Being demanded what was difficult, he answered, To know ones selfe; what easie, to bee rule'd by another; what sweet, to follow ones owne will; what divine, that which hath neither beginning nor end. At his returne from travell, being demanded what was the strangest thing he had seen, hee answered, a Tyrant old. What will helpe to beare ill fortune? to behold our enemies in worse. How shall a man live justly? by avoiding what he blames in others. Who is happy? he who hath a sound body, a rich fortune, and a docile nature.

* Plut. de dæm. Socr.

* Sympos. sept. sap.

*Plutarch adds these; we may well report probable newes, but improbable should not be related. We ought not to beleeve our enemies in credible things, nor to distrust our friends in incredible. Periander being much troubled at a monster which a youth brought him, born of a Mare with the head onely of a horse, the rest resembling a man, he advised him not to take care for expiation of what the prodigy portende, ἢν δὲ μὴ τοῦτο τοῦτον (saith he) ἐκ τοῦ μὴ κεῖσθαι τοιοῦτον ἔσεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ τοῦτο γενόμενος αὐτοῖς.

* Serm 61.

* Serm. 104.

Stobæus these; *Being demanded how far falshood was distant from truth, as far saith he as the eyes from the eares. It is hard but good to know our selves, for that is to live according to nature.

* Stob. serm. 28

His morall precepts are thus delivered by *Demetrius Phalereus*; *If thou art a surety, losse is nigh; Be equally mindfull of friends present and absent; study not to beautifie thy face but thy mind: enrich not thy selfe by unjust meanes. * Let not any words fall from thee which may accuse thee to him who hath committed any thing in trust to thee. Cherish thy parents. Entertaine not evill. What thou bestowest on thy Parents thou shalt receive from thy children in thy old age. It is hard to understand well. The sweetest thing is to enjoy our desire. Idlenesse is troublesome. Intemperance hurtfull. Ignorance intolerable. Learne and teach better things. Be not idle though rich. Conceale thy domestick ills. To avoid envie be not pitiable. Use moderation. Beleeve not all. If a Governer, rule thy selfe. I follow those copies of *Stobæus*, that ascribe these to *Thales* rather then to *Pittacus*, because the greater part are confirmed by *Laertius*.

* i. e. be true to thy trust.

Ausonius hath reduced these into verse under his name.

Feare ere thou sin, thy selfe though none else nigh,
Life fades, a glorious death can never die.
Let not thy tongue discover thy intent,
Tis misery to dread, and not prevent.
He helps his foes that justly reprehends.
He that unjustly praiseth, harmes his friends.
That's not enough that to excesse extends.

His Motto was according to *Laertius*, *Know thy selfe*; according to * *Didymus* and * *Higynus*, *if thou be a surety, losse is nigh*: By * *Hermippus*, this is ascribed to him, though by others to *Socrates*: *He gave thanks to fortune for three things: first, that he was born*

* Clem. Alex.
* Fab. 221.
* Laert.

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born rationall, not a beast; secondly, that a man, not a woman; thirdly, that a Grecian, not a Barbarian.

There are besides cited by *Laertius*, under the name of ἀδέσποτα, or *loose verses*, these sentences.

Not many words much wisdome signifie,
Choose one thing excellent, to which apply
Thy mind, and stop the mouth of calumny.

CHAP. 10.

His judgment in Civill affaires.

POliticks was, according to *Laertius*, his first study, in which his advice was of great Authority, though he were the only person (as *Cicero* observes) of the seven wise men, that was not ruler of the City wherein he lived.

Of his judgment herein we have two instances; the first from * *Herodotus*; *Good also, even before the destruction of* Ionia, *was the advice of* Thales, *a Milesian, a farre off by descent Phœnician, who commanded the Ionians to build one common Councell Hall, and that in* Teos, *for that* Teos *is in the midst of* Ionia, *and the rest of the inhabited Cities, nevertheless to be in repute, according as the Citizens were.*

The other cited by *Laertius* (with no lesse applause) is this, In the first year of the fifty eight Olympiad; *Crœsus* King of *Lydia*, fearing the greatnesse of *Cyrus*, and encourag'd thereunto, as he conceiv'd, by the Oracle, sent Ambassadours and presents to the most considerable of the Grecians, perswading them to joyne with him in an expedition against *Cyrus*, which the Lacedæmonians with many others did: but *Thales* forbad the Milesians to enter into league with him. *It appears* (addes *Laertius*) *that his advice in civill affairs was excellent; for this thing* (*Cyrus* getting *the better*) *preserv'd the Citty.*

Yet did he afford *Crœsus* his particular assistance in passing his Army over *Halys*, as the Grecians affirme, though *Herodotus* be of a contrary opinion, who gives this account of both. *When* Crœsus *was come to the River* Halys, *then, I beleeve, by bridges that were there, he passed over his Army; but the common report of the Grecians is, that* Thales *the Milesian was he who conveigh'd it over: For* Crœsus *being doubtfull over what part of the River his Army should passe, there being in those daies no Bridges,* Thales, *who was in the field with him, is said to have caused the River that did run on the left hand of the Army, to run also on the right, which he brought to pass thus. Beginning above the trench, he digged a deep trench, and brought it in the fashion of a halfe Moon, that the River being turned into the trench from the former channell at the back of the Army, and passing by the camp, came into the old channell again, so that assoon as the River was thus divided,*

* *Lib. 1.* τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πολεας ὁσιευμένας, μηδὲν ἧσσον νομίζεσθαι πατρίας εἶναι ἢ ἦσαν ἔτι, *which* Valla *renders thus*; Cæteras autem civitates habitatas nihilominus huic parituras, quã aliarum civitatum tribus legibus parerent. *Stephanus thus*: nihilominus eodem loco haberi quo tribus: *both* (*I conceive*) *amiss.*

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vided, (which * Lucian saith, was done in one night) it became fordable on either side: Some say that the old channell was quite made up, but that I do not beleeve, for then, how could they in their return passe over.

That this is the meaning of Herodotus, mistaken by * Valla, will appear from the *scholiast of Aristophanes, who relates it in the same manner, not without applauding Thales for his excellency in Mechanicks.

He was a great enemy to Tyrants, and accounted all Monarchy little better, as appears by Plutarch, who makes him speak thus: *As for taking one for the other, (viz. a Monarch for a Tyrant) I am of the same mind with the young man, who throwing a stone at a Dog, hit his Step-Mother; it is no matter, said he, for even so, it lights not amisse, Truly I alwaies esteemed* Solon *very wise, for refusing to be King of his own Country: and* Pittacus, *if he had not taken upon him a Monarchy, would never have said, how hard it is to be a good man: and* Periander *being seiz'd (as it were an hereditary disease derived from his father) by the same Tyranny, did very well to endeavour as much as he could to disengage himselfe from it, by frequenting the conversation of the best men, inviting Sages, and Philosophers, and being invited by them, not approving the dangerous counsell of* Thrasibulus, *my countryman, who perswaded him to take off the heads of the chiefest. For a Tyrant, who chooseth rather to command slaves then free-men, is like a husbandman, who preferreth the gathering of locusts, and catching of foul, before reaping of good corn. These soveraign authorities have only this good, in recompense of many evills, a kind of honour and glory, if men be so happy, that in ruling good men, they themselves prove better; as for such, who in their office aim at nothing but security, without respect of honour or honesty, they are fitter to be set over beasts then men.*

In the same Symposion, he gives this account of Monarchy, Democracy, and Oeconomicks. *That Prince is happy, who lives till he is old, and dies a naturall death. That common-wealth is best ordered, where the citizens are neither too rich, nor too poor. That house is best, wherein the Master may live most at ease.*

* In Hippia.

* Who renders τὰν πηγὰν τάφρῳ ὄρυγμα ἐκτραπωμένος τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥεέθρων καὶ ἄντις παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς τὰ μεγάλα ἐσβάλλοι, in quam cum introduxisset ex pristino alveo fluvium, iterum cum ubi exercitus trajectus esset in suum alveum refunderet.

* In Nubes.

Stob. serm. 147
Stob serm. 148.
Stob. serm. 43.

CHAP. XI.

Of his writings.

Some affirme (saith *Laertius*) *that he left nothing behind him in writing.* Others that he writ,

Of naturall Philosophy: Saint * *Augustine* saith, that *Thales, to propagate his doctrine to succession, searched into the secrets of nature, and committing his opinions to monuments and Letters, grew famous.*

Of Nautick Astrology (mentioned by * *Simplicius*) which is by some ascribed to *Phocus*, a Samian.

Of the Tropicks and Æquinoctialls: which two treatises *Laertius*, saith, *he composed, as judging the rest easie to be understood.* These seem

*De civit. dei.

* Laert.

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seem to be those Astrologicall writings which * *Lobon*, an Argive, who writ concerning the Poets, affirmeth to have extended to two hundred verses.

Of Meteors: a treatise in verse, mentioned by *Suidas*.

The history of his own times: if we may give credit to * *Johannes Antiochenus*, who saith, *These things* Thales, Castor, *and* Polybius *most wise Authors, committed to writing, and after them* Herodotus *the historian*: but perhaps this may be no more probable, then that *Polybius* and *Castor* should precede *Herodotus*.

* *Lib. 6.* τῶν τε δὴ ἱστορίων οἱ σοφώτατοι Θάλης καὶ Κάστωρ καὶ Πολύβιος συγγεγράφασιν καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Ἡρόδοτος ὁ ἱστοριογράφος.

Ἀποφάσεις, of which those that are cited by *Laertius*, we have inserted among his morall sentences, for such they were, tending to the instruction of the common people, a kind of loose verse, comming nere prose, whence *Demosthenes* makes two kinds of Poets, τοὺς ἐμμέτρους καὶ τοὺς ἀνομάτους, (as *Casaubon* observes) those that write in *meeter*, and (if we may so tearm it) those that write in *blank verse*. Whatsoever *Laertius* in the lives of the seven wisemen produceth in this kind, seemeth not to be taken out of any Poet, but to have been written by the wise-men themselves:

Epistles, of which two only are extant, preserved by *Laertius*.

Thales to Pherecydes.

*I Hear, that you first of the Ionians, are about to publish a discourse to the Greeks concerning Religion, and * justly you conceive that your worke ought rather to be laid in a publick library, then transmitted to uncertain persons: if therefore it may any way pleasure you, I will willingly confer with you about that which you have written, and if you desire, will visite you at* Syrus; *for neither my selfe, nor* Solon *the Athenian should deserve the titles of* wise-men, *if we, who sail'd to* Creet *to informe our selves of matters there, and into* Ægypt, *to confer with Priests and Astronomers, should not likewise make a journey to you:* Solon *also, if you think fit, will come. You who affect home seldome passe into* Ionia, *nor care to enjoy the society of strangers; we, who write nothing: spend our time in travelling through* Greece *and* Asia.

But the interpreters render this to another effect.

Thales to Solon.

IF you leave Athens, *you may, in my opinion, settle your selfe (with those you take along with you) at* Miletus, *for here is nothing to trouble you. If you dislike that we* Milesians *are governed by a Tyrant (for you are averse to all Monarchs, even elective) yet may you please your selfe in the society and conversation of me your friend.* Bias *likewise hath sent to invite you to* Priene; *if to abide at* Priene *please you better, we will also come and dwell there with you.*

CHAP.

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CHAP. XII.

His Auditors and Schollers.

THe first eminent person of those who heard *Thales* and profes's'd his Philosophy, was *Anaximander* sonne of *Praxides* a Milesian, who flouris'h'd in the time of *Polycrates* Tyrant of *Samos*.

Next is *Anaximenes* a Milesian also, sonne of *Eurystratus*, (who according to *Eusebius*) flouris'hed in the second yeare of the 56th. Olympiad. He was Scholler to *Anaximander* and *Parmenides*; But that he heard *Thales* also, he acknowledgeth in an * Epistle to *Pythagoras*.

* *Laert. vit. Anax.*

We may (as in that Epistle *Anaximenes* doth) amongst the disciples of *Thales* reckon *Pythagoras* the Samian, institutor of the Italick Sect, who being from his youth particularly addicted to investigation of Religious mysteries, addrest his first journey to *Thales* at *Miletus*, as to one that best could further his designe, being (according to * *Jamblichus*) not fully 18. yeares old; which if we follow the accompt of *Euseb.us* for his birth (the fourth yeare of the seventieth Olympiad) and that of *Socrates* for his age eighty yeares (for the rest, the farther they exceed that time, are so much the more incapable of reconcilement) will fall about the second yeare of the fifty fourth Olympiad, which is the 82. of *Thales*. From *Thales* he received the Rudiments of that Excellence which he afterwards attained. This is acknowledged by * *Jamblichus*. *Thales*, saith he, *entertaind him very kindly, admiring the difference between him and other youths, which exceeded the fame hee had receiv'd of him. After that he had instructed him as well as he was able in the Mathematicks, alledging for excuse his old age and infirmity, he advis'd him to goe to Ægypt, and to converse with the Memphian Priests, especially those of Jupiter, of whom he himselfe had in his Travells learned those things, for which by many he was esteem'd wise*; and * again, *among other things* Thales *chiefely advis'd him to husband his time well, in respect whereof he abstain'd from wine and flesh, onely eating such things as are light of digestion, by which meanes he procured shortnesse of sleepe, wakefulnesse, purity of minde, and constant health of body.*

* *De vita Pythag. l. 2.*

* *Vit. Pythag. l. 2.*

* *Vit. Pythag. l. 3.*

CHAP.

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CHAP. XIII.

Of his Death.

Thales having now liv'd to a great age, being full of honour and wisedome, * died in the first yeare of the fifty eight Olympiad (when according to *Pausanias Erxyclides* was Archon) as he was beholding the Olympick games, oppresst with heate, thirst and the burden of his yeares which amounted to ninty two. *Laertius* under-reckons him to have lived but eighty seven yeares, having before acknowledged his birth to have beene in the first of the 35. Olympiad. * *Petavius* over-reckons, who makes him live to the end of the 58. which could not be, because he died spectator of the Olympick Games. * *Lucian* and * *Syncellus* more, who say he lived 100 yeares. *Sositrates* comes nearest to the truth, who allowes him to have lived 90. yeares, and to have died in the 58. Olympiad; for from the first of the 58. is 22. entyre Olympiads.

* *Laert.*

* *Rationar. temp.* 1. 12.

* *De long. vit.*

* *Chronol.*

The manner of his death gave *Laertius* occasion to favour him with this Epigram.

Viewing th' Olympick games Elean Jove
Thou didst wise Thales *from that his race remove*
Nigher thy selfe; and 'twas well done, now old
He could not well from Earth the Starrs behold.

He was buried according to his owne appointment in a poore obscure part of the *Milesian* field, where he presag'd that in future times their *Forum* should be; upon his Tomb this distich,

Plut. vit. Solon.

Narrow the Tomb, the fame then heaven more wide
Of wisest Thales, *whom this earth doth hide.*

There was also a statue erected in honour of him bearing this subscription.

Milesian Thales this doth represent,
Who all in wise Astrology outwent.

* There were five more of this name mentioned by *Demetrius* the Magnesiã, an orator of *Calatis*, an affected imitator. A Painter of *Sicyonia*, of a great spirit. The third very antient, contemporary with *Hesiod*, *Homer* and *Lycurgus*; The fourth mentioned by *Duris*: the fift of later times, by *Dionysius* in *Criticis*. * *Laertius* names *Pherecydes* as a detractour from *Thales* the Philosopher.

* *Laert.*

* *Vit. Socrat.*

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SOLON.

CHAP. I.

Solon *his Parents, Country, and Condition.*

Plut.

PHilocles, cited by *Didymus* affirmes, that *Solon's* father was named *Euphorion*, but by the unanimous consent of all other writers, he was called *Execestides*, a person though of small fortune and account among the Citizens, yet of the most noble family in *Athens*, descended from *Codrus*, *Solon deriving himselfe from *Neleus*, son of *Codrus*, and from Neptune: *His Mother neer of kin to the Mother of *Pisistratus*; *his Parents had another Son named *Dropides*, Archon, the year after *Solon*, from him was *Plato* descended.

* Laert. Plut.
* Laert. vit. Proclus in Timæum.

Solon was born (according to *Laertius*) at *Salamis*, for which reason he desired at his death that his body might be carried thither; but from his Parents and the place of his residence, he was sirnamed *Athenian*.

*His father by munificence and liberality brought his estate so low, as to want even necessaries: *Solon* (ashamed to receive from any, being of a house which used to maintain others) betook himselfe to Merchandise: others say, he travelled rather to improve his knowledge and experience, for he was a professed lover of wisdome, and even to his last used to say, *I grow old learning*; riches he esteemed not much, but to grow rich like

* Plut.

——*him who abounds,*
In heaps of gold, as in rank corn his grounds
In Mules and Horses, whilst his numerous wealth
Made pleasing by uninterrupted health;
If to compleat these joyes, he be possest
Of wife and children, he is truly blest.

And elsewhere.

Riches I wish, not riches that are plac'd
In unjust means, for vengeance comes at last.

That he was profuse and delicate, and more luxurious in his verses then beseemes a Philosopher, is attributed to his practising Merchandise, such persons requiring more then ordinary de-

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SOLON.

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delicacies and freedomes in recompense of their many and great dangers. That he was rather in the number of the poor then of the rich, is apparent from these his verses.

Many unjust grow rich, and pious poor,
we would not change our virtue for their store.
For constant virtue is a solid base:
Riches from man to man uncertain pass.

* *Aristotle* ranks *Solon* amongst the inferior sort of Citizens, *which* (saith he) *is manifest from his Elegies*, meaning perhaps, some of these which *Plutarch* cites. * *Lucian* saith, he was extreamly poor; *Paleologus*, that he neither had nor valued wealth. * Polit. 4. 11. * In Scytha. * Orat. 1.

CHAP. II.

How by his means the Athenians took Salamis, Cyrrha, *and the Thracian* Chersonesus.

MAny (saith * *Demosthenes*) *of obscure and contemptible have become illustrious by profession of wisdome.* Solon *both living and dead flourish'd in extraordinary glory, to whom the utmost honours were not denyed, for he left a monument of his valour, the Megarean Trophie, and of his wisdome, the recovery of* Salamis; the occasions these. * Orat. de falsa legat.

* *The Island* Salamis *revolted from the Athenians to the Megarenses*; * the Athenians having had a long troublesome war with the Magarenses for its recovery, grew at length so weary, that giving it over, they made a Law, forbidding any upon pain of death to speak or write any thing to perswade the City to re-attempt it: *Solon* brooking with much reluctance this ignominy, & seeing many young men in the City desirous to renew the war, (though not daring to move it, by reason of the Edict) counterfeited himselfe mad, which he caused to be given out through the City, and having privately composed some elegiack verses and got them by heart, came skipping into the *Forum* with his Cap (or as *Laertius* saith, a *Garland*) on: the people flocking about him, he went up into the place of the Cryer, and sung his Elegy beginning thus, * Pausan. * Plut.

A crier I, from Salamis *the fair,*
Am come in verse this message to declare:

* The lines wherewith they were most excited were these. * Pausan.

Rather then Athens *would, I ow'd my birth*
To Pholegondrian, *or* Sicinian *earth:*
For men where ere I goe will say this is
One of the Athenians that lost Salamis.

And,

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And,

Then lets to Salamis, *renew our claime,*
And with the Isle recover our lost fame.

* This Poem was intituled *Salamis*, it consisted of a hundred verses, very elegant: when he had made an end of singing, it was much applauded by his friends, particularly by *Pisistratus*, who excited the Citizens to follow his advice: By this means the law was repealed, the war recommenced, wherein *Solon* was made Generall: the common report is, that taking *Pisistratus* along with him (*whence it is, that some ascribe the whole glory of the action to* Pisistratus, *of whom are* Frontinus, Æneas, *and* Justine) he sailed to *Colias*, where finding all the women celebrating the festivall of *Ceres*, he sent a trusty messenger to *Salamis*, who pretending to be a runnagate, told the *Megarenses*, that if they would surprise the principall women of *Athens*, they should go immediately with him to *Colias*: The *Megarenses* believing what he said, manned a ship, and sent it along with him; *Solon*, assoon as he saw the ship come from the Island, commanded the women to retire, and as many beardlesse young men to put on their gownes, head-tyre, and shoes, hiding daggers under their Garments, and so danced and plaid by the Sea-side, till the enemy were landed, & their ship at anchor: By this time the *Megarenses*, deceived by their outward appearance, landed in great hast, and came upon them, thinking to take them away by force, **but they suddenly drawing their swords, shew'd themselves to be men, not women*; *the *Megarenses* were all slain, not one escaping, the Athenians going immediately to the Island took it.

* Plut.

* Polyæn. lib. 1.

* Plut.

* Plut.

* Others deny it was taken in this manner, but that first receiving this answer from the Delphian Oracle,

Let sacrifice be to those Hero's paid,
who under the Asopian ground are laid,
And dead, are by the setting Sun survey'd.

Solon by night sailed to the Island, and sacrificed burnt offerings to the Heroes, *Periphemus*, and *Cichris*; then he received five hundred men of the Athenians, with condition, that if they gained the Island, the supream government thereof should be in them: Shipping his men in fisher boats, attended by one ship of thirty Oars, they cast anchor by *Salamis*, near a point opposite to *Eubœa*: The *Megarenses* who were in *Salamis* hearing an uncertain rumor hereof, betook themselves confusedly to armes, sending forth a ship to bring them more certain intelligence from the enemy, which *Solon*, as soon as it came neer, took, and killing the *Megarenses*, manned with choice *Athenians*, whom he commanded to make directly for the Citty, with all possible secrecy; in the mean time, he, with the rest of the *Athenians*, as-

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assaulted the *Megarenses* by Land, and whilst they were in sight, they who were in the ship, making hast, possest themselves of the Town. This relation is confirmed by their solemnitie, an Athenian ship comes thither first in silence, then falling on with cries and shouts, an armed man leaps forth, and runs directly towards the Scirradian Promontory, against those that come from the Land: hard by is the Temple of *Mars* built by *Solon*, for he overcame the Megarenses, and let go ransomelesse all those that escaped the misery of the war: * *Ælian* saith, *he took two ships of the Megarenses, whereinto he put Athenian Officers, and Souldiers, bidding them put on the armour of the enemy, whereby deceiving the Megarenses, he slew many of them unarmed.* * *Var. hist. 7. 19.*

* But the Megarenses persisting in obstinacy, to the losse of many lives on both sides, the businesse was referred to the Lacedæmonians to be decided; many affirme *Solon* alledg'd the authority of *Homer*, inserting a verse into his catalogue of ships, which he thus recited at the triall. * *Plut.*

Ajax twelve vessells brought to Salamis,
And where the Athenian men had stood, rank'd his.

(*By which second verse of his own making and addition he evinc'd, that* Salamis *of old belonged to the Athenians.*) But the Athenians esteem this relation fabulous, affirming, *Solon* demonstrated to the Judges, that *Phylæus* and *Eurisaces*, sons of *Ajax*, being made free denizons by the Athenians, delivered this Island to them, and dwelt, one at *Branco*, in *Attica*, the other in *Melita*, whence there is a Tribe named *Philaidæ*, from *Philæus*, of which was *Pisistratus*, * *He overcame the Megarenses in an oration, getting the better of them, not with specious words, but weight of argument:* * more cleerly to convince them, he instanced in the buriall of the dead, *and inscription of the names of townes*, used by those of *Salamis*, * *as he shewed, by digging up some graves*, after the manner of the Athenians, not of the Megarenses, for in *Megara* they buried their dead with their faces to the east, in *Athens*, to the west. But *Hereas* of *Megara* denying this, affirmes, the Megarenses buried also with their faces toward the west; for further confirmation, *Solon* alledg'd, that the Athenians had for each man a severall Coffin, the Megarenses buried three or foure in the same. It is said also, that *Solon* was much helped by certain Oracles of *Apollo*, * wherein he calls *Salamis Ionia*. This cause was decided by five Spartans, *Critolaidas*, *Amomphoretus*, *Hypsechidas*, *Anaxilas*, and *Cleomenes*. * *Ælian. var. hist. 7. 19.* * *Plut.* * *Laert.*

* By this action, *Solon* grew into great esteem and honour, but he became [*not long after*] much more admired and cried up by the Greeks, for speaking concerning the Temple at *Delphi*, *The Cyrhæans committed many impieties against* Apollo, *and cut off* * *Plut.* * *Pausan. in phoc.* * *Pausan in phoc.*

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* Plut. *part of the land belonging to him.*]* *Solon* declared, that it behoved them to relieve it, and not to suffer the Cyrrhæans to prophane the Oracle, but that they should vindicate the Gods cause. The *Amphictions* thus instigated by him, undertook the war with much eagerness, as *Aristotle affirms*, ascribing to *Solon* the honour of that Enterprise: *Æschines* saith, the motion made by *Solon* was confirmed by the Oracle. Some affirme he was made Generall, others *Alcmæon*: *But the whole Army of the Greeks was* (according to *Pausanias*) *led by* Clisthenes, *Tyrant of* Sycionia, *along with whom they sent* Solon *from* Athens *to be his counsellor.* *Suidas saith, *he was chosen counsellor by those, who were pickt out for the service of that war.* * Whilst *Clisthenes besieged* Cirrha, * *they enquired concerning the victory, and from the Pythian Oracle, received this Answer.*

* In phoc:
*In voce Solon.
* Polyæn. lib. 3.
* Pausan.

This Cities fort you shall not take before
Blew *Amphitrites* swelling billowes roare
Against my water wash't-grove, and hallow'd shore.

Whereupon Solon *advis'd to consecrate the Cyrrhæan field to* Apollo, *by which means the sea should touch sacred land.* **He used also another Stratagem against the Cirrhæans; the River* Plistus *which ran through the Cittie, he diverted another way, the Town holding out against the besiegers, some drunk well-water, others rain, which they saved in Cisterns. He caused roots of Hellebore to be thrown into* Plistus, *and when he found it was fully poison'd, turned the River again into its proper channell: The Cyrrhæans drinking greedily of that water, were taken with a continuall flux, and forced thereby to give over the defence of their works: the* Amphictions *being possest of the Citty, punished the* Cirrhæans, *and aveng'd the Gods.* These two stratagems were ascribed to *Clisthenes*, the first by * *Polianus*, the second by * *Frontinus*, but the reason is apparent, he doing them by the direction of *Solon*.

* Pausan. ibid.
*Lib. 3.
* Lib. 3. cap. 7:
* Exert.

* *Solon* perswaded also the Athenians to reduce into their power the Thracian *Chersonesus*.

CHAP. III.

How he composed differences and seditions at home, and was made Archon.

* Plut. * THe Cylonian impiety had for a long time vexed the City, ever since the complices of *Cylon*, having taken sanctuary, were perswaded by *Megacles* the Archon to put themselves upon a tryall, they laying hold of a threed which was tyed to the image of *Pallas*, when they came neer the images of the furies, the threed broke of it selfe, whereupon *Megacles* with the other Archons fell upon them, as persons disown'd by the Goddesse; those that were without the Temple they stoned, those

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those who run to the Altars, they were murdered; they only escaped who sued to their wives, whence being called impious, they were accounted odious: those that remained of the Cylonians were grown very rich, and had perpetuall enmity with the family of *Megacles*; at what time this dissention was highest, and the people thereby divided into factions, *Solon* being of much authority amongst them, taking with him the chiefest of the City, interposed betwixt them, and with intreaties and advice perswaded those who were called impious to submit to the judgment of three hundred of the chief Citizens: *Miro* was their accuser, they were condemned, the living to be banished, the bones of the dead to be digged up, and thrown beyond the confines of the country.

During these commotions, the *Megarenses* took *Nysea*, and recovered *Salamis* from the *Athenians*; the City was full of superstitious terrors and apparitions; the Priests declared, that the entralls of the sacrificed beasts imported great crimes and impieties, which required expiation. * *There was also a great plague*; * the Oracle advis'd them to lustrate the City; to this end they sent (* *Nicias, son of Niceratus with a ship*) * to fetch *Epimenides* out of *Crete*, who comming to *Athens*, was entertained by *Solon* as a guest, conversed with him as a friend, instructed him in many things, and set him in the way of making Lawes. *This lustration of the City* Eusebius *under-reckons, placing it in the second year of the fortie seventh Olympiad, whereas* Solons *being Archon, which certainly happened after this, was in the third of the fortie sixt.* Suidas *seems to over-reckon, ranking it in the fortie fourth: the opinion of* *Laertius *agrees best with the circumstances of the story, that it was in the fortie sixt.*

* Laert.
* Plut.
* Laert.
* Plut.
* In Epimenid.

*The commotions of the Cylonei, being thus appeased, and the offendors extirpated, the people fell into their old difference about the government of the commonwealth, whereby they were divided into as many factions, as the Province contained distinctions of peoples: the Citizens were Democraticall, the countrymen affected Olygarchy, the maritimes stood for a mixt kind of government, and hindred both the other parties from having the rule: at the same time the City was in a dangerous condition, by reason of a dissension betwixt the rich and the poor, arising from their inequality; the businesse seemed impossible to be composed, but by a Monarchy; the commons were generally oppressed by the mony which they had borrowed of the rich, and either had tilled their land, paying to them the sixth part of the crop, whence they were called *Hectemori*, and *Thetes*, or ingaged their bodies to their creditors, whereof some served at home, others were sold abroad, many also (there being no law to the contrary) were necessitated to sell their children, and leave the City, through the cruelty of these usu-

* Plut.

rers,

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surers, the greatest part (such as had most courage amongst them) assembling together, mutually exhorted one another not to indure these things any longer, but choosing some trusty man to be their leader, to discharge those that paid not their mony at the set day, to share the land, and quite invert the State of the comwon-wealth. The discreetest amongst the Athenians looking upon *Solon* as a person free from any crime, (neither ingaged in the oppressions of the rich, nor involved in the necessities of the poor) intreated him to take charge of the common-wealth, and to compose the differences of the people. *Phanias* the Lesbian affirmeth, , that for preservation of the State, he deceived both parties, promising under-hand to the poor, a division of the land; the rich, to make good their contracts; but that he first made scruples of undertaking the businesse, deterred by the avarice of the one, and insolence of the other; he was chosen Archon, next after *Cleombrotus* (**in the third year of the forty sixt Olympiad*) at what time he made his lawes also, being at once a peace-maker, and a law-giver, acceptable to the rich, as rich, and to the poor, as good; the people had often in their mouths this saying of his, *equality breeds no strife*, which pleased alike both parties, one side understanding it of number and measure, the other of worth and vertue; upon which hope, the most powerfull of both factions courted him much, and desired him to take upon him the tyranny of that common-wealth, which he had now in his power, offering themselves to his assistance: Many also of the moderate part seeing how laborious and difficult it would be to reform the state by reason and law, were not unwilling to have a Prince created, such an one as were most prudent and just: some affirme he received this Oracle from *Apollo*,

* *Lert.*

Sit at the helm of State, their Pilot be,
The common-wealth's glad to be steer'd by thee.

But he was most of all reproved by his familiar friends, for being deterred by the name of a Tyrannie, as if the virtue of a King were not diffus'd through the Kingdome, instancing in *Tynondas* long since Tyrant of *Eubœa*, and *Pittacus* at present of *Mytelene*: nothing they alledg'd could move him, he told them a Tyranny was a faire possession, but it had no passage out: to *Phocus* writing thus in verse,

That I preserved free my native soile,
Nor did with bloody Tyranny defile
My honour, I not blush at by this deed,
All that was done by others I exceed.

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Whereby it appears, he was of great authority before he writ his Lawes. The contumelies of such as reproved him for declining the government, he thus expresst in verse:

Nor wise is Solon, *nor good counsell knowes,*
For he resists the good that God bestowes,
The prey within his power he did behold,
But would not draw the Net; thoughts meanly cold:
Had but his soul with noble aims been fir'd,
The Kingdome for one day he had desir'd,
Then split, and all his family expir'd.

CHAP. III.

What alterations he made during his government, and first of the Sisacthia.

* THough he refused the tyranny, yet he behaved not himselfe remissely in the government, not complying with the powerfull, nor making lawes to please those who had chosen him, where things were tollerable, he corrected nor altered nothing; fearing, lest if he should change and confound the common-wealth in every particular, he should want strength to settle it again, and to temper it with the best reasons; but such things unto which he conceived he might perswade the obsequious, and compell the refractory, those he enacted; joyning (as he said) force and justice, whence, being afterwards demanded if he had given the *Athenians* the best lawes, the best (saith he) they would receive. * Plut.

* The first change he made in the Government was this, hee (* *introduced the Sisachthia which was a discharge of bodies and goods, or* as as Hesychius *defines it, a law for remission of private and publick debts, so called from shaking off the oppression of usury*: * *for at that time they engaged their bodies for payment, and many through want were constrained to serve their creditors, he therefor ordained*) that for the time past, all debts should be acquitted, and for the future, no security should be taken upon the body of any; this by a moderate term he called *Sisachthia*; there want not (of whom is *Androtion*) who affirmed he contented the poor, not by an abrogate discharge of the debt, but by moderating the interest, which he called *Sysacthia*; whereto he added the increase of measures, and valuation of mony; for the Mina which was before 73 drachmes, he made a hundred: by this means the poorer sort paid a greater summe in lesse coyne, which was a great ease to the debtor, and no wrong to the creditor. but the greater part hold it was an absolute discharge, which agreeth best with the verses of *Solon*, wherein he boasteth he had *removed the bounds throughout the land,* * Plut. * Laert. * Laert.

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freed such as were under oppression, called home those, who being forced to travell, had forgotten their native language, and others that were at home under bondage, set at liberty. The same Law, *Diodorus Siculus* observes to be among the Egyptians, conceiving *Solon* (though as yet he had not been there) derived it from them.

*Lib. 1.

* But in this design a great misfortune befell him; whilst he endeavoured to redresse the oppression of usury, and was studying how to begin an oration suitable to the thing, he acquainted his intimate friends in whom he reposed most confidence, *Conon*, *Clinias*, and *Hipponicus*, that he meant not to meddle with land, but to cut off all debts; they (preventing the Edict) borrowed of the rich great summes of money, wherewith they purchased much land; the Edict being published, they enjoyed their purchase, without satisfying their creditours: *Solon* was much blamed, as not defrauded with the rest, but as being a defrauder with those, and a partaker of their consenage; but this imputation was imediately washed away with five Talents, so much he had forth a interrest, which he first, according to the law, blotted out, (*Laertius* saith six, perswading others to do the like) others, of whom is *Polyzelus* the Rhodian, fifteen; but his friends were ever after called χρεωκοποι.

* Plut.

* This pleased neither parts; he discontented the rich by cancelling their bonds, the poor more, not making good a parity of estates, which they expected, as *Lycurgus* had done, he being the eleventh from *Hercules*, having raigned many years in *Lacedemon*, great in authority, friends, and wealth, whereby he was able to make good what he thought convenient for the state, rather by force then perswasion, even to the losse of his eye, effected as a thing most expedient to the preservation and peace of the common-wealth, that none of the Citizens were either rich or poor: but *Solon* attained not this in the common-wealth, he was one of the people, and of a mean degree; yet he omited nothing within his power, carried on by his own judgment, and the faith which the Citizens had in him; that he displeased many, who expected other things, is thus acknowledged by himselfe.

Before they look'd upon me kindly, now
With eyes of fire, and a contracted brow:
Had any in my power, he would exact
Their riches, and their fattest milk extract.

But both parties soon found how much this conduced to the generall good; and laying aside their private differences, sacrificed together, calling the sacrifice Συναχθεια.

CHAP.

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CHAP. 5.

How he divided the people into Classes, and erected Courts of Judicatory.

HEreupon they chose *Solon* reformer and Lawgiver of the Commonwealth, not limitting him to any thing, but submitting all to his power, Magistracies, Convocations, Judgements, Courts to take an accompt of them, to prescribe what number and times he pleased; to disanull or ratifie of the present law what he thought good. * *Plut.*

* First, then he quite abolished all the Lawes of *Draco*, except for murther, because of their rigidnesse and severity, for he punished almost all offences with death; as that they who were surprised in Idlenesse should be put to death; they who stole herbs or apples should undergoe the same punishment with such as had committed murther, or sacriledge; whence *Demades* wittily said, *Draco* writt his lawes not in inke, but blood; he being asked why he punished all offences with death, answered, *he conceived the least deserved so much, and he knew no more for the greatest*; *Herodicus *alluding to his name*, said *his lawes were not of a man, but of a Dragon, they were so rigid*; *And* Aristotle saith, *there was nothing in them extraordinary and worthy of memory, but that severity and greatnesse of penalty* which was so excessive, that *not by any edict or command, but by a silent and expresse consent amongst the Athonians they were laid aside; afterwards they us'd the milder lawes made by Solon, differing even in name, the first being called *θεσμοὶ*, the latter *νόμοι*. *Those of *Draco* were made in the 39th Olympiad, 47 years (as *Vlpian* accompts) before these of *Solon*. * *Plut.* * *Aristt. Rhet. 2. 23.* * *Agell. 11. 18.* * *Tatian. Clem. Alex. Suid.* * *In demost. Timocr.*

* Next, *Solon* (being desirous that all offices might continue as they were, in the hands of the rich, but that other priviledges of the Common-wealth, from which the people were excluded, might be promiscuously disposed,) tooke an accompt and valuation of the people [* *and divided them into foure orders*] those whose stock of dry and liquid fruits amounted to 500. measures he ranked in the first place, and called *Pentacosiomedimni*, [* *these paid a talent to the publique treasury.*] In the second classe were those who were able to maintaine a horse, or received 300. measures, these he called [* *for that reason*] *horsemen*; *they paid halfe a talent.* The third classe were *Zengitæ* (* *so called because*) they had 200. measures of both sorts, *these paid 10. *minæ*, the rest were all called *Thetes*, whom he suffered not to be capable of any Magistracy, neither did they pay any thing, but onely had so far interest in the common wealth, as to have a suffrage in the publique Convocation, & at Judgements, which at first seemed nothing, but afterwards appeared to be of great consequence; * *Pollux.* * *Pollux.* * *Pollux.* * *Pollux.* * *Pollux.*

for

for in whatsoever was brought before the Judges, he gave them leave (if they would) to appeale to the common forum; moreover writing his lawes obscurely and perplexedly, he increased the power of the forum, for not being able to determine controversies by the Law, they were forced to have recourse to the Judges, as Masters of the law; this equality he himselfe thus expresseth,

The Commons I sufficient power allow
Honour from none I tooke, on none bestowd,
Those who in power or wealth the rest outshin'd,
In bounds of moderation I confin'd;
To either part I was a firme defence,
And neither did allow preheminence.

* *Epist. 90.* * *Lib. 2.* Hither **Seneca* alluding saith, Solon *founded* Athens *upon equall right and* *Justine *he carried himselfe with such temper between the commons and the Senate, that he attracted equall favour from both, he suffered no man* (saith * Æneus Gazeus) *to have a peculiar law, but made all men subject to the same.*

* *In Theophrast.*

* *Plut.* * He likewise (*continues Plutarch*) constituted the court of the *Areopagus*, consisting of the yearely *Archons*, whereof himselfe (being the chiefe) was one; perceiving the people to be much exalted and enboldened by the remission of their debts, he ordained a second Court of Judicature, selecting out of each tribe (which were in all foure) a hundred persons, who should resolve upon all decrees before they were reported to the people; nor should any thing be brought to them, untill it had first past the Senate: the supreame Senate he appointed Judge and preserver of the lawes, conceiving the City would be lesse apt to float up and downe, and the people become more setled, relying upon these two Courts, as on two Anchors; thus the greater part of writers make *Solon* institutor of the Court of *Areopagus*, (*of whom also is* **Cicero*) which seems to be confirmed, in that *Draco* never mentions the *Areopagites*, but in criminall causes alwaies names the *Epheta*; but the eighth law of the thirtieth table of *Solon* hath these words, *Those who were branded with infamy before* Solon *was Archon, let them be restored to their fame, except such as were condemned by the Areopagites or by the Epheta*, &c. And it is certaine, that *the Court of Areopagus was long before* Solons *time, untill then consisting promiscuously of such persons as were eminent for Nobility, power, or riches, but Solon reformed it, ordaining none should be thereof, but such as had first undergone the office of Archon. See* Meursius *Areop. cap. 3.*

* *De Offic. l. 1.*

* *Lib. 8. cap 6.* * *Schol. Aristoph. in Nub.* * *Pollux* saith, that *Solon ordained a thousand men to judge all accusations*; * Demetrius Phalereus, *that he constituted the Demarci, first called Nauclari.*

CHAP.

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CHAP. VI.

His Lawes.

HAving thus disposed the common-wealth, and Courts of Judicature, he in the next place applyed himselfe to making lawes, which he performed so excellently, that he is generally remembered under that notion, which *Minos* of *Creet*, and *Lycargus* of *Lacedemon*, whose lawes those of *Solon exceeded*, (as* *Tacitus* saith) *both in exquisiteneſſe and number: * of how much greater esteem they were then all before them, may be computed from this; that they were the last, and continued alwaies in the City: They, for whom they were made, thought them more illustrious then their publick ornaments, which transcended those of all other Cities, more impregnable then their Tower, which they accounted the strongest of all upon earth, and far better then those things wherein they gloried most:* * nor were they of lesse esteem among forraign nations, insomuch that the Romans * *agreeing concerning lawes in generall, but differing about the law-giver, sent Embassadours to* Athens, Sp. Posthumius Albus, A. Manlius, P. Sulpitius Camerinus, *commanding them to transcribe the renowned lawes of* Solon; * which *transferred out of the books of* Solon *the Decemviri expounded in the twelve Tables.* Hence * *Ammianus Marcellinus* saith, that *Solon assisted by the sentences of the Ægyptian Priests, having with just moderation framed lawes, added also to the Roman state the greatest foundation.*

* *Annal. 3.*
* *Man. Paleolog. in protrept. ad doctr.*
* *Liv. lib. 3.*
* *Aurel. Vict. de vir. illust. c. 21.*
* *Lib. 22.*

Of his lawes, these have been preserved by *Plutarch*, and others.

** If any man were beaten, hurt, or violently treated, whosoever had the means and will, might sue the offendour.* Thus (saith *Plutarch*) he wisely brought the Citizens to a mutuall sence of one anothers hurts, as if done to a limb of their own body.

* *Plut.*

** Of infamous persons, let all such as were infamous before the government of* Solon, *be restored to their fame, excepting whosoever were condemned by the Ephetæ, or in the Prytaneum by the Magistrates, banished for murder, theft, or aspiring to tyrannie.* This was the eight Law of the thirteenth Table. There were two kinds of infamy; by the lesser a man was degraded and made uncapable of all honour or office in the common-wealth; by the greater, he and his children were lyable to be killed by any man, and he not to be questioned for it.

* *Plut.*

* Of his lawes, those seem most singular and paradoxall, which declare him infamous, who in a sedition takes neither part: it is cited out of *Aristotle* by * *Agellius* in these words: *If through discord and dissention, any sedition and difference divided the people into two factions, whereupon with exasperated minds both parties take up armes and fight; he, who at that time, and upon that occasion of civill*

* *Lib. 2. cap. 12.*

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discord shall not engage himselfe on either side, but solitary and separated from the common evill of the Citty withdraw himselfe, let him be deprived of house, country and goods by banishment. * He would not that any one saving himselfe harmlesse, should be insensible of the common calamity, or boast himselfe to have no share in the publick grief; but that instantly applying himselfe to the better and juster side, he should interest himselfe in the common danger, and assist, rather then out of all hazard, expect which side should get the better. When we did read (saith *Agellius*) this law of *Solon*, a person indued with singular wisdome, at first we remained in great suspence and admiration, enquiring for what reason he judged those worthie of punishment, who withdrew themselves from sedition and civill war; then one whose sight pierced more deeply into the use and meaning of the law, affirmed, the intent thereof was not to encrease, but appease sedition; and so indeed it is, for if all good persons, who in the beginning are too few to restrain a sedition, should not deterre the distracted raging people, but dividing themselves, adhere to either side, it would follow, that they being separated as partakers of both factions, the parties might be temper'd and govern'd by them, as being persons of greatest authority; by which means they might restore them to peace, and reconcile them, governing and moderating that side whereof they are, and desiring much rather the adverse party should be preserved then destroyed. * *Cicero* citing this law, averreth the punishment to have been capitall, perhaps understanding infamy here of the more severe kind.

* Plut.

* ad attic. lo. 1.

Absurd & ridiculous (saith *Plutarch*) seemeth that Law which alloweth *an inheritrix, if he who possesseth her by law as her Lord and Master be impotent, to admit any of her husbands neerest kindred.* But some averre it is just, as to those, who though they are impotent, yet will marry rich heires for their mony, and by the priviledge of law wrong nature; for when they see it lawfull for the heir to admit whom she pleaseth, either they will refrain from such marriages, or undergoe them with the reproach of avarice and dishonesty: It is well ordered also, that she may not admit any one, but only whom she will of her husbands kindred, whereby the issue may be of his family and race. * Hither likewise it tends, that *the Bride be shut up in a room with the Bridegroom, and eat a Quince with him.* (intimating, according to * *Plutarchs* interpretation, that the first grace of her lips and voyce should be agreeable and sweet) and that *he who marrieth an heir, be obliged to visit her thrice a month at the least*: For though they have not children, this argues a respect due to a chast wife, and prevents or reconciles unkindnesse and dissention.

* Plut.

* In precept. conjugial.

Those words of the former law, *He who possesseth her by law as her Lord and Master*, have reference to another Law of his, men-

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mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus, that the next of kin to an heir might by law requite her in marriage, and she likewise might require him that was next of kin who was obliged to marry her, though never so poor, or to pay 500 Drachms for her dowry. Hereto *Terence alludes. * Lib. 12.

* Hec. Act 1. Scen. 2.

The Law commands an heir to marry with
Her Husbands next of kin, and him to take her.

And to the putting her off without a dowry of 500 drachms, (that is five mine)* elsewhere. * Phorm. act 2. scen. 3.

Though I be injur'd thus, yet rather then
I'le be contentious, or bound still to hear thee,
Since she's my kinswoman, take hence with her
The Dower the Law enjoynes me, heer's five pound.

* In all other marriages he forbad dowries, ordaining that a Bride should bring with her no more then three gowns, and some slight houshold-stuffe, of small value, the particulars whereof were expressed, as * Pollux seemes to imply, for he would not that marriage should be mercenary or vendible, but that the man and woman should re-habit for issue, love, and friendship. Hither * Isidor alludes, amongst the Athenians legall marriage was said to be contracted, in respect of issue. * Plut. * 1. 12. 15. * Lib. 3. Epist. 243.

That Law of his also was commended, as * Demosthenes and Plutarch attest, which forbad to revile the dead, *Let no man revile any dead person, though provoked by the revilings of his children.* * Plut.

* To esteem the deceased holy is pious, to spare the absent just, to take away the eternity of hatred civill.

* He forbad to revile any living person at sacred solemnities, Courts of Judicature, and publick spectacles, upon penalty of three drachms to be paid to the reviled person, two more to the common treasury. * Plut.

To moderate anger no where he accounted rude and disorderly, every where difficult, to some impossible. A law must be accommodated to what is possible, intending to punish some few, to advantage not many to no purpose.

* His law concerning testaments is much approved; for before, no man had power to make a will, but his goods and lands continued in the family of the deceased person: Solon made it *lawfull for him that had no children to give his estate to whom he pleased.* he preferred friendship before kindred, and favour before necessity, and ordered, that wealth should be at the disposall of him in whose hands it was: yet he permitted not this rashly, or absolutely, but conditionally, *If he were not wrought upon by sickness, potions, bondage, or the blandishments of a wife.* Justly he esteemed it all one whether a man be seduced by indirect means, or violently constrained, thus comparing deceit with force, and * Plut.

pleasure

pleasure with pain, as being of equall power to put a man out of his right mind. This Law is mentioned likewise by *Demosthenes.* *Orat. in Lept.*

*He also limited the visits, mournings, and feasts of women, by a law which curbed their former licentiousnesse. *Her who went abroad, he permitted not to carry with her above three gownes, nor more meat and drink then might be bought with an obolus, nor a basket above a cubit in bignesse, nor to travell by night, unlesse in a chariot, and with torch-light: He forbad them to tear their cheeks to procure mourning and lamentation, at the funeralls of those, to whom they have no relation. He forbad to sacrifice an Ox at funeralls, and to bury more then three garments with the dead body; not to approach the monuments of strangers unlesse at their exequies.* Of which (saith *Plutarch*) our lawes are full: *Cicero also affirmes, that the lawes of the twelve Tables for contracting the pomp of funerals, and concerning mourning, are transferred from those of *Solon*, who (as *Phalereus* writes) assoon as funeralls began to be solemnised with pomp and lamentation, took them away: which Law the *Decemviri* put into the tenth table, almost in the very same words, for that of 3 neighbourhoods and most of the rest are *Solons*, that of mourning in his expresse words, *Let not women tear their cheeks, nor make lamentation at a funerall.* *De leg. lib. 2.*

*Considering that the City grew very populous, many recurring thither from all parts of *Attica*, for liberty and security, that the country was for the most part barren and bad, that such as trade by sea import nothing for those, that have not wherewith to batter or exchange with them, he addicted the Citizens to arts, and made a law, that *the son should not be obliged to maintain his father, if he had not brought him up to a trade* (mentioned also by *Vitruvius, *Galen, *Theophylact, and others) and commanded *the court of Areopagus to examine by what gain every man maintained himself, and to punish idle persons, whom he made liable to the action of every man; and at the third conviction punished with infamy.* This law, *Herodotus, and *Diodorus Siculus* affirme to have been in use amongst the Ægyptians, made by *Amasis*, and from them divided by *Solon* to the Athenians. *Plut.* *Præfat. lib. 6.* *Exhort. Vrat. ad artes.* *Epist. 7.* *Lib. 7.* *Lib. 1.*

*Yet more severe was that mentioned by *Heraclides* of Pontus, which *disengaged the sons of concubines from maintaining their fathers.* He who transgresseth the bounds of marriage, professeth he doth it not out of desire of issue, but for pleasure, and therefore already hath his reward, and can expect to have no further tye upon those he begets, whose birth is their shame. *Plut.*

*Most incongruous seem those laws of *Solon* which concern women, for he permitted that, whosoever surprised an adulterer (with the wife or *concubine of any) might kill him, (or exact mony of him) *he that ravished a free woman was fined* 100 *Drachmes*, *he that plaid the pandor*, 20 (*Æschines* saith to die) *except to such* *Plut.* *Lysias in Orat. de cæde Eratosth.* *Orat. in Timarch.*

women

women as were common. He also forbad *any man to give his sister or daughter to that profession, unlesse himselfe first surprise her with a man.* This (saith *Plutarch*) seemes absurd, to punish the same offence sometimes severely with death, sometimes with a pecuniary mulct, unlesse, because at that time mony was very rare in *Athens*, the scarcity thereof aggravated the punishment.

*He assigned *five hundred drachmes to the victor of the Isthmian games, a hundred to the Victor of the Olympick:* attested also by *Laertius*, who saith, he contracted the rewards of the Athletas, judging them dangerous victors, and that they were crowned rather against, then for their country. * Plut.

**Whosoever brought a hee-wolfe was to receive five drachms, for a shee wolfe one;* according to *Demetreus Phalereus*, this being the price of a sheep, that of an Ox. It is customary with the Athenians, that such as have grounds fitter for pasture then plowing, make war with the wolves. *Plut.

*For asmuch as there is such scarcity of Rivers, Lakes, and Springs in the country, that they are constrained to dig wells, he made a Law, *where there was a common well within a Hippicon, they should make use of it.* (A Hippicon is the distance of foure furlongs) *they that lived further off should procure water of their own, and if when they have digged ten fathom deep, they find not any, they might be allowed to fill a pitcher of six gallons twice a day at their neighbours well.* *Plut.

*These exact rules he prescribed for planting: *Whosoever planted any young Tree in his ground, should set it five foot distant from his neighbours, who a Fig-tree or Olive-tree, nine:* Because the roots of these spread far, nor is their neighbourhood harmlesse to all, but sucks away the nourishment, and to some their blatt is prejudiciall. *Plut.

**Whosoever diggeth any hole or ditch must make it so far distant from his neighbours, as it is deep.* These are confirmed by *Caius*, adding; *whosoever makes a hedge to divide himselfe from his neighbour, must not exceed his own bounds; if a wall, he must leave the space of a foot, if a house, two feet, if a well, a fathom.* *Plut. *Lib. 4. ad leg. 12. tab.

Whosoever placeth a hive of bees, should observe the distance of thirtie feet, from those that were before placed by his neighbour.

*He commanded *the Archons to curse him who exported any thing out of the Country, or that he should pay a hundred Drachmes to the publike treasury,* whereby they are not to be rejected, who say, that of old the exportation of figgs was prohibited, and that he, who discover'd exporter, was called a Sycophant. *Plut.

*He made a law concerning such as should be hurt by a dog, wherein he ordained, *the dog that bit to be bound in a chaine foure cubits long.* *Plut.

*This law concerning Denization is difficult, *That none should be made free of the City, except such as were banished for ever out of their owne Country, or came to Athens with their whole families to exercise some* *Plut.

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trade; this he did not to drive away forraigners, but to invite them to Athens by certainty of admittance into the City, conceiving such would be faithfull, those out of necessity, these out of good-will.

* *Plut.* * Likewise to be feasted in the publike hall was the peculiar institution of *Solon*, which he called σιτησις, not permitting the same person to eat there frequently: but if he who were invited, would not accept of it, he was punished, conceiving this a contempt of the publique honour, that an inordinate appetite.

Hitherto *Plutarch*: these following are recited by *Laertius*.

Laert. * *If any one maintain not his Parents, let him be infamous, as likewise he that devours his patrimony.* Hither * *Æschines* alludes; in the *Orat. in Timarch.* fourth place with whom hath he to do? If any man by prodigality hath consumed his patrimony or hereditary goods; for he conceived, he who had ordered his own family ill, would in the same manner take care of the common-wealth: neither did the law-giver imagine it possible, that the same person should be privately wicked, and publickly good, or that it were fitting such a one should go up into the chair, who took more care to frame an oration, then to compose his life.

* *Laert.* * He *forbad such as haunted common women to plead*; confirmed by * *In Timarch.* *Æschines*. * In the third place with whom hath he to do? If any man (saith he) be a haunter of common women, or procure mony by such means; for he conceived, such a one as sold his own fame for mony, would easily sell the businesse of the state.

* *In Androt.* And * *Demosthenes*, it is worth inquiry and consideration, *Athenians*, how great care, *Solon*, the author of this law, had in the common-wealth in all those which he made, and how particularly solicitous he was herein above all other things, which as it is evident by many other lawes, so also by this, which forbids those *qui se prostituerunt*, either to plead or judge in publick.

* *Laert.* * He augmented the rewards of such as should die in war, whose sons he *ordered to be brought up and instructed at the publick* * *In Panathen.* *charge*. * *Aristides*, thou alone of all men didst ordain these three things by law, that such as died for their country should be annually praised publickly at their sepulchers, their children, till grown men, maintained at the publick charge, then sent back to their fathers house with compleat armes; likewise that infirm Citizens should be maintain'd at the publick charge. * *Plato* adds * *Menexen.* that the same indulgence was allowed to the parents; you know the care of the common wealth, which in the lawes concerning the children and parents of such as died in the war, *commands the supream Magistrate to take care, that the parents of those that died in the war, above all other Citizens should not receive any injury.* The state brings up the children also: Hereby, saith *Laertius*, they became eager of fame and honour in war, as *Polyzelus*, as *Cynegirus*, as all those in the *Marathonian* fight: to whom may be added *Harmodius*, *Aristogiton*, *Miltiades*, and infinite others.

* *Let*

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* *Let not a guardian marry the mother of his ward, nor let not any one be ward to him, who, if he die, shall inherit his estate;* confirm'd by *Syrianus, *Marcellinus*, and others, who adde, that the same law forbad the ward to marry her guardians son. * Laert. * In Hermog. * In Hermog.

* *Let not a graver keep the impression of any seal after he hath sold it.* * Laert.

* *If any man put out the eye of another, who had but one, he shall lose both his own.* * Laert.

His law concerning theft, *Laertius* expresseth thus; *What thou laidst not down, take not up, otherwise the punishment death.* * *Æschines* addes, if they confessed themselves guilty: others affirm the punishment was only to pay double the value, of whom is *Agellius* and * *Hermogenes*, who affirme, the law made that distinction betwixt sacrilege and theft; punishing the first with death, the latter with double restitution. * *Demosthenes* cleers this, reciting this law exactly in these words, *If any man steal in the day time above fiftie drachms, he may be carried to the eleven officers, if he steal any thing by night, it shall be lawfull for any to kill him, or in the pursuit to wound him, and to carry him to the eleven officers. Whosoever is convict of such offences, as are liable to chaines, shall not be capable of giving bail for his theft, but his punishment shall be death, and if any one steal out of the Lyceum, or the Academy, or Cynosarges, a garment or a small vessell of wine, or any other thing of little value, or some vessell out of the Gymnasia, or havens, he shall be punished with death; but if any man shall be convict privately of theft, it shall be lawfull for him to pay a double value, and it shall be also at the pleasure of the convictor, besides payment of mony, to put him in chaines five daies, and as many nights, so as all men may see him bound.* *Even those who stole dung, were by *Solon*'s law liable to punishment. * Orat in Timarch. * Lib. 11. c. 18. * Partit. sect. 4. * Orat. in Timocr. * Schol. Aristoph. ad equites. * Laert.

**That if an Archon were taken drunk, he should be punisht with death.*

To those recited by *Laertius*, adde these collected from others.

He *allowed brothers & sisters by the same father to marry, & prohibited only brothers & sisters of the same venter;* Whereas contrariwise (saith * *Philo*) the Lacedæmonian law-giver allowed these, and prohibited those. Hence **Cornelius Nepos* affirmes, *Cimon* married his sister *Elpinice*, invited, not more by love, then the Athenian custom, which allowes to marry a sister by the same father. * De leg. spec. lib. 2. * In Præm. & in Cimonis vitâ

* He writ according to the manner of the antients, severally concerning the discipline of Matrons, for *a woman taken in Adultery he permitted not to weare ornaments, nor to come into publick Temples, lest by her presence she should corrupt modest women; if she came into a temple, or adorned her selfe, he commanded every one to rend her garments, to tear off her ornaments, and to beat her, but not to kill, or maim her;* By this means depriving such a woman of all honour, and giving her a life more bitter then death. This is also confirmed by * *Demosthenes*, who addes, *If any man surprise an Adulterer* * Æschin. orat. in Timarch. * in Nearam.

terer, it ſhall not be lawfull for him who took them to have the woman in marriage, if he continue to keep her as his wife, let him be infamous.

Demoſth. Orat. in Macartat. * *Let the dead bodie be laid out within the houſe, according as he gave order, and the day following before Sun-riſe carried forth; whilſt the body is carrying to the grave, let the men go before, the women follow; it ſhall not be lawfull for any woman to enter upon the goods of the dead, and to follow the body to the grave, under threeſcore years of age, excepting thoſe within the degree of coſens, nor ſhall any woman enter upon the goods of the deceaſed after the body is carried forth, excepting thoſe who are within the degree of coſens.*

Cicer. de leg. 2. * Concerning ſepulchers, he ſaith no more, then that *no man ſhall demoliſh them, or bring any new thing into them; and he ſhall be puniſhed, whoſoever violates, caſts down, or breaks any tomb, monument, or columne.*

Elian. var. hiſt. 2: 42. &c. 5. 14. * *If any one light upon the dead body of a man unburied, let him throw earth upon it.*

Demoſt. in Lipton. * *Whoſoever ſhall diſlike a received Law, let him firſt accuſe it, then if it be abrogated, ſubſtitute another:* The manner whereof is largely expreſſed by *Demoſthenes.*

Declam. 18. Pyrrh. Hipp. 3. 24. He ordained (according to * *Libanius*) that *Children ſhould be obliged to perform all due offices to their parents.* **Sextus* ſaith, he made a Law of indemnity, whereby he allowed any man to kill his ſon; but **Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus* affirmes, he permitted them to turn their children out of dores, and to diſenherit them, but nothing more.

Lib. 2.

Eſchin. in Creſiph. * He ordained that *all ſuch as declined to be engaged in war, or forſook the Army, or was a Coward, ſhould have all one puniſhment, to be driven out of the bounds of the forum, not permitted to wear a garland, or to enter into publick Temples.*

Demoſth. Orat. in Timocr. * *If any one be ſeized on, for having abuſed his parents, or forſaken his colours, or being forbidden by law, hath gone into places where he ought not, let the eleven officers take and bind him, and carry him into the Heliæa, it ſhall be lawfull for any one that will to accuſe him, and if he be caſt, it ſhall be at the judgment of the Heliæa to impoſe what puniſhment or fine they ſhould think fit, if a fine, let him be kept in fetters till it be paid.*

Athenæus deipn. lib. 15. * He permitted *not a man to ſell unguents,* as being an effeminate office.

Eſchin. in Creſiph. * As concerning Orators, he ordered, that *the Eldeſt of the citizens ſhould goe up firſt into the pleaders chaire modeſtly without tumult and perturbation to move, he out of experience ſhould conceive beſt for the commonwealth; then that every Citizen according to his age ſhould ſeverally and in order declare his judgement.*

Liban. declam. 13. * He ordered that *a Citizen of Athens ſhould be tried no where but at Athens.*

Stob. 112. * He commanded that *no young man ſhould beare the office of a Magiſtrate, nor be admitted to counſell, though he were eſteemed exceeding wiſe.*

For

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* For the common people he ordained slow punishments, for Magistrates and Rulers of the people sodaine, conceiving those might be punished at any time, but that the correction of these would admit no delay. * Demost. in Aristogit.

* As for the Gods and their worship, hee decreed nothing * nor against Parricides, answering those who questioned him about it, *he did not thinke any could be so wicked.* * Maxim. Tyr. 39. * Cicer. orat. pro S. Rosc. Amer. & Laert.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Axes and Cyrbes, Senators Oath, and other institutions of Solon.

* THese Lawes he ratified for a hundred yeares; They were *carved in different tables; * Those which concerned private actions, in oblong quadrangular tables of wood, with cases, which reached from the ground and turned about upon a pin like a wheele, whence they were called ἄξονες, * placed first in the tower, then brought into the Prytanæum that al might see them, where there were some remaines of them in *Plutarch's* time. Those which concerned * publike orders and sacrifices, in * triangular tables of stone called κύρβεις, either from * *Cyrbus* who tooke the accompt of every mans estate, or ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ κύρβαντα ἱερῶν, or ἀπὸ * τῶν κυρβασιῶν. or from the *Corybantes*, to whom the invention thereof is by some ascribed. These were placed in the *Portica regia*; * Both the *Axes* and *Cyrbes* were written after the same manner as oxen to turne in ploughing (βουστροφηδὸν γράφειν) whence *Demosthenes* calls that law the lowest which beginneth on the left side. * Plut. * Agyll. 2. 12. * Plut. Etymol. * Pollux. 8. 10. * Suid. * Ammon. de differ voc. * Suid. * Schol. Aristot. in Ares. * Didym. apud Harp. & Suid.

* *The Senate tooke one common oath to make good the lawes of* Solon *for a hundred yeares, each of the Thesmothetæ sworne in the Forum at the Criers stone, if he violated them, to dedicate a golden statue of equall weight with himselfe at Delphi.* * Plut.

Some particulars of the oath imposed by *Solon* mentioned by severall Authors (as, *not to abrogate his lawes*, by *Plutarch*, to *admit no young man to be judge*, by * *Stobæus*; *to heare impartially both the plaintiffe and defendant*, by * *Demosthenes*;) argue it to bee the same which the same * Author delivers in these words. * Serm. 112. * Orat. de corona. * Dem. st.

"I will declare my opinion according to the lawes of the "Athenians, and five hundred Senators. By no assistance from "me shall Tyranny or oligarchy bee admitted, I will ne- "ver side with him who hath corrupted the people or intends, "or indevors it. I will never suffer any new tables or any divi- "sion of those already received, or a parity of lands or goods. I "will never call home any banished or confined person, I will "consent that he be expelled the City who denies these lawes "decreed by the Senate, confirmed by the people; I will never

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'permit any to be injured: I wil never constitute any Magistrate 'before he hath given account of his last Magistracy. I will ne- 'ver permit the same man to be chosen twice in one yeare, or 'at once to hold two offices. I will neither take, nor suffer any 'to take bribes or rewards. I am thirty yeares old, I will heare 'impartially both plaintiffe and defendant, & condemne with- 'out excuse those that deserve it. I sweare by Jove, by Neptune 'and by Ceres, may they destroy me, my house and children, if I 'observe not all these particulars. Hence perhaps it is that * Hesychius affirmes *Solon* in his lawes to have ordained an oath by three Gods.

* ὀμνὺς δώδε.

Considering the irregularity of moneths, and the course of the Moone, which agreed not alwaies with the rising and setting of the Sun, but some times overtooke and went past him in one day, he called that day the *Hena, last and first*, attributing that part which precedes the conjunction to the last moneth, the rest to the beginning of the next. Thus *he taught the Athenians to accommodate the reckoning of their dayes to the motion of the Moone:* * and was (as it appeares) the first who understood rightly that of *Homer*.

* Laert.
* Plut.

When one moneth ended and the next began:

The day following he called Νουμηνία, *The new moone*: from the twentieth day to the thirtieth he reckon'd not by addition but by substraction, in respect of the moones decrease: of this see * *Aristophanes*.

* The clouds, act. 4. scen. 2.

* He ordered the verses of *Homer* to be recited successively, that where the first ended the next should begin; whence *Diuchides* saith, he illustrated *Homer* more then *Pisistratus* (by whom the *Rhapsodies* were first collected) the principall verses were

* Laert.

They who inhabit Athens, &c.

* He first tollerated common Curtesans, and with the money they paid to the State erected a Temple to *Venus* ἐπιτραπία.

* Athen. deipn. 13.

* He first taught Souldiers to march by the sound of Fifes and Harpes, observing a kinde of measure in their pace.

* Sext. Empiric adverſ Mathem. 6.

CHAP. VIII.

How he entertained Anacharsis, his Travells to Ægypt, Cyprus, Miletus, Delphi, Corinth, and Crete.

* IN the forty seventh Olympiad (according to * *Soſicrates*) *Anacharsis* came to *Athens*; *Eucrates* being Archon, * he went immediately to the house of *Solon*, and knocking at the doore, said he was a stranger desirous of his friendship and Hospitality: *Solon* answered, *it is better to contract friendship at home: there you*

* Laert.
* Plut.

that

that are at home, (replies *Anacharsis*) *make me your friend and guest.* *Solon* admiring his acuteneſſe, entertained him kindly, and kept him ſome time with him, whilſt he was imployed about publick affairs, and ordering his lawes; which *Anacharsis* underſtanding, ſmiled, that he undertook to curb the injuſtice and covetouſneſſe of Citizens by written ordinances, nothing differing from cobwebs, holding faſt the weak and poor, whilſt the powerfull and rich break through them; whereto *Solon* anſwered, that *men ſtand faſt to thoſe covenants, which it is not convenient for either party to break*: He gave the Citizens ſuch lawes, as it was evident to all, that to keep, were better then to tranſgreſſe; but the event agreed more with the conjecture of *Anacharsis*, then the expectation of *Solon*.

* After his lawes were promulgated, ſome or other came daily to him, either to praiſe, or diſpraiſe them, or to adviſe him to put in or out whatſoever came into their minds, the greater part to have the meaning explained, queſtioning how every thing was to be underſtood, and intreating him to unfold the ſence; he (conſidering, that not to ſatisfie them, would argue pride, to ſatisfie them would make him lyable to cenſure) determined to avoid ambiguities, importunities, and occaſions of blame; (for as he ſaid

In things that are not ſmall
'Tis hard to ſing to all.

Colouring his travail with being Maſter of a Ship, and having obtained leave of the Athenians to be abſent ten years, he put to ſea, hoping in that time his lawes would become familiar to them.

* The firſt place of his arrivall was *Ægypt*, where he dwelt, as himſelfe ſaith,

At Nilus mouth, neer the Canobian ſhore.

He ſtudied Philoſophy awhile with *Pſenophis* of *Heliopolis*, and *Sonches* of *Saïs*, the moſt learned of thoſe Prieſts, by whom, *Plato* affirmes, he was taught the Atlantick language, which he afterward began to explain in verſe; when he queſtioned them in antiquities, the elder ſaid to him, *O Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children, there is not one Greek an old man.*

* Thence he went to *Cyprus*, where he was much favoured by *Philocyprus*, one of the Kings of that country, who had a little Town built by *Demophoon*, ſon of *Theſeus*, upon the River *Clarius*, in a ſtrong place, but rugged and barren: *Solon* perſwading him, there lying a pleaſant plain underneath it, to transferre the Town thither, making it more ſpacious and delightfull: *Solon* being preſent at the doing hereof, took care it might be peopled, and aſſiſted the King to contrive it, as well for health as ſtrength

* *Plut.*

* *Plut.*

* *Plut.*

ſtrength; whereupon many came into *Philocypria*; whom other Kings æmulated; for this reaſon he aſcribed the honour thereof unto *Solon*, naming the Citie (which before was called *Æpea*) from him, *Soli*. This foundation he mentions in his Elegies, addreſſing his ſpeech to *Philocyprus*.

Muſt thou in Cyprus long as King abide,
And ore this people and this Town preſide;
In a fleet veſſell from this haven may
Cythera crownd with violets me convey.
Her kind aſpect and happineſſe may ſhe
Grant to this Town, a ſafe return to me.

He viſited *Thales* alſo at *Miletus*, whoſe impoſture towards him (related already in *Plutarchs* words) receive from *Tzetzes*.

Solon's *friend* Thales *lead a ſingle life,*
By Solon *often mov'd to take a wife;*
Theſe a Mileſian (Thales *ſo contriv'd*)
Meeting, pretends from Athens *late arriv'd:*
Solon *asks curiouſly what newes was there;*
One that's abroad, ſaith he, hath loſt his heir,
The Cittie waited on his obſequies.
Was it not Solon's *ſon,* Solon replies?
To this the ſtranger (as ſuborn'd) aſſents:
He with torn hair in cries his paſſion vents;
Whom Thales *(tenderly embracing) leave*
This grief, ſaith he, I did thee but deceive;
'Tis for theſe reaſons Marriage I decline,
Which can deject ſo great a ſoule as thine.

Whether it belong to this deceit, or to a reall loſs * *Dioſcorides*, and * *Stobæus* report, that weeping for the death of his Son, one told him, but this helps nothing, he anſwered, and therefore I weep.

* *Laert.*
* *Serm.* 121.

* At *Delphi* he met with the reſt of the wiſe men, and the year following at *Corinth*, by *Perianders* invitation, which was as *Plutarch* implies, long before *Piſiſtratus* came to raign; nor doth * *Dion Chryſoſtom* intend the contrary, though ſo interpreted by *a learned perſon, his words importing only this; Solon *fled not the Tyranny of* Periander, *though he did that of* Piſiſtratus.

* *Laert.*
* *Orat.* 37.
* *I Meurſius.*

That he went alſo to *Creet* (perhaps to viſit *Epimenides*) is evident, from an * Epiſtle of *Thales*.

* *ad Pherecyd.*

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CHAP. IX.

The attributes of wise conferred on him: his morall Sentences.

*WHen *Damasius* (the second) was Archon, (in the yeare of the 49. Olympiad) all the seven received the attribute of wise: of these was *Solon*, upon whom (* *Themistius* saith) it was conferr'd as "an honorable title full of dignity: *Plutarch averres that "all of them (except *Thales*) were so called from their "skill in civill affaires. And againe, * "In Philosophy *Solon* "chiefly affected (as did likewise most of the wise men) that "part of morality which concernes politicks; * and speaking of *Mnesiphilus*, "he was not (saith he) an orator of those Philo- "sophers who are called naturall, but embraced that wisedome "which teacheth government of a State, and prudence in pub- "lique actions, which he retained as a Sect delivered by succes- "sion from *Solon*. Whence *Macrobius* instanceth *Solon*, as "skil- "full in that kind of learning which draweth Philosophy dee- "per, and establisheth a state.

* *Laert.*

* *Orat. 4.*

* *Vit. Sol.*

* *Vit. Themist.*

* *Somn. Scip. 2. 17.*

Hereto may bee added his morall learning, for which (though *Socrates* reduced it first to a Science, and was thereupon honored as the inventor thereof) the seven were so famous, that some affirme the title of wise was given them only for excelling others in a laudable course of life, and comprehending some morall rules in short sentences; of these they had three sorts, Apothegmes, Precepts and Answers.

Of his Apothegmes *Laertius* recites these, "Speech is the I- "mage of Action; He is a King who hath power. Lawes are "like cob-webs which entangle the lesser sort, the greater breake "through: Those who are in favour with Princes resemble "counters used in casting accompts, which sometimes stand for "a great number, sometimes for a lesser; so those are some- "times honored, sometimes cast downe. Being demanded how "men might be brought to doe no wrong, if, saith he, they who "have received none, and those who are wronged be alike "concern'd. Satiety comes of riches, contumely of Satiety.

* *Plutarch* and others, these; "He conceived that City to be "best govern'd, where the people as eagerly prosecute wrongs "done to others as to themselves. * Being demanded how a "City might be best ordered, he answered if the Citizens obey'd "the Magistrates, the Magistrates the lawes; hee affirmed that "King and Tyrant should become most glorious, who would "convert his Monarchy to Democracy. He esteemed that Fa- "mily best, wherein wealth is gotten not unjustly, kept not un- "faithfully, expended not with repentance.

* *Vit. Sol.*

* *Sympos. Sept. Sapi.*

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* *Arist. Ethic.* 10.8. * Hee defined "the happie those who are competently "furnished with outward things, act honestly, and live temperately; which definition *Aristotle* approves.

* *Cicer. Epist.* 15. *ad Brut.* * He said, "a commonwealth consists of two things, reward and punishment.

* *Val. Max.* 7.2. * "Seeing one of his friends much grieved, he carried him to "the Tower, and desired him to view all the buildings below, "which observing, the other to have done, now saith he, think "with your selfe, how many sorrowes have heretofore and doe "at present dwell under those roofes, and shall in future ages: "and forbeare to be troubled at the inconveniencies of mortality as they were only yours. He said also, that if all men should "bring their misfortunes together in one place, every one would "carry his owne home againe, rather then take an equall share "out of the common stock.

* *Stob. Serm.* 34 * "Being in drinking, demanded by *Periander*, whether hee "were silent through want of discourse, or through folly, an-

* *Stob. Serm.* 41 "swered, no fool can be silent amidst his cups. * He said, that "City was best ordered, wherein the good were rewarded, the "bad punished.

* *Joan. Salisb. policr.* 8.14. * "He said, a man ought to fear nothing, but that his end "excludes not Philosophy.

* *Orat. in Timocrat.* * *Demosthenes* recites a discourse which he used to the Judges, in accusing one who had moved a pernicious law, to this effect; "It is a Law generally received in all Citties, that he who "makes false mony should be put to death. Then he demanded "of the Judges, whether that Law seemed to them just and "commendable, whereunto they assenting, he added, that he "conceived mony to be used amongst Citizens, in respect of "private contracts; but that lawes were the mony of the com-"mon-wealth: therefore Judges ought to punish those, who "embased the mony of the cómon-wealth much more severe-"ly, then those who embase that of private persons: and that "they might better understand it to be a farre greater offence "to corrupt lawes, then adulterate coyne, he added, that many "Citties use mony of silver allaid with brasse or lead, without "any prejudice to themselves; but whosoever should use lawes "so adulterated, could not escape ruine and death.

* *Laert.* * *Mimnermus* writing thus,

From trouble and diseases free,
At threescore years let death take me.

He reproved him, saying,

By my advice, that wish extend,
Nor for his counsell sleight thy friend.
Alter thy song, and let it be,
At fourescore years let death take me.

His

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His morall precepts are thus delivered by * *Demetrius Phalereus*, some whereof are cited by *Laertius*. "Nothing too much; "Sit not as judge, if thou dost, the condemned will esteem thee "an enemy. Fly pleasure, for it brings forth sorrow. Observe "honesty in thy conversation more strictly then an oath. Seal "words with silence, silence with opportunity. Lie not, but "speak the truth. Consider on serious things. Say not ought "is juster then thy Parents. Procure not friends in hast, nor "procur'd, part with in hast. By learning to obey, you shall "know how to command. What forfeiture you impose on o-"thers, undergoe your selfe. Advise not Citizens what is most "pleasant, but what is best. Be not arrogant. Converse not with "wicked persons. Consult the Gods, Cherish thy friend. Re-"verence thy Parents. Make reason thy guid. What thou seest "speak not. What thou knowest conceal. Be mild to those that "belong to thee. Conjecture hidden things from apparent. * *Stob. serm. 3.*

His particular sentence according to * *Didymus* and *Laertius* was, *Nothing too much*; according to *Ausonius*, *Know thy selfe*, who ascribes these also to him; * *Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.*

Him I dare happy call whose end I see,
Match with thy like, unequalls not agree.
By fortune guided, none to honour raise,
A friend in private, chide, in publick praise;
Honours atchiev'd created far exceed;
If fates be sure, what helps it to take heed?
And if unsure, there is of fear lesse need.

Of his sayings *Laertius* mentions these.

Of every man be carefull, lest he bear
A sword conceald within his breast, a cleer
Aspect, a double tongue, a mind severe.

CHAP. X.

How he opposed Pisistratus, *and reprehended* Thespis.

*DUring the absence of *Solon*, the former dissention broke forth again in the City: *Lycurgus* was head of the country men, *Megacles* of the Maritimes, *Pisistratus* of the Townsmen, who were most violent against the rich; *Solon*'s lawes were still observed in the City, but the people aimed at novelty and change, not as thinking it most just, but in hopes to be Masters of other mens goods, and to suppresse the adverse party. *Solon*, whilst things stood thus, returned to *Athens*, where he was much * *Plut.*

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much reverenced and honoured by all, but could not ſpeak or act in publick, through the weakneſſe of his body and ſpirits, yet privately taking every one of the Commanders apart, he endeavoured to reconcile their differences, wherein *Piſiſtratus* ſeemed the moſt ready to be perſwaded, with whom he had a very antient friendſhip, grounded aſwell upon their kindred, as upon the good qualities of *Piſiſtratus*, then whom (as *Solon* uſed to ſay) there could not be a perſon of more worth, if he were cured of his ambition.

* *Plut.* * About this time (according to *Plutarch*) which was in the fiftieth Olympiad, *Theſpis* began to preſent Tragedies (which *Suidas* erroneouſly accounts ten Olympiads latter, as is obſerved by *Meurſius*) the people were much taken with the novelty of the thing, for as yet there were no contentions therein. *Solon* naturally deſirous to hear and learn, and by reaſon of his age indulging more to eaſe and pleaſure, feaſting and muſick, went to ſee *Theſpis* himſelf act, as was then the manner; the Play ended, he went to *Theſpis*, and asked him, if he were not aſhamed to ſpeak ſo many lies before ſo great an auditory? *Theſpis* anſwered, it was no ſhame to act or ſay ſuch things in jeſt. *Solon* ſtriking the ground hard with his ſtaffe, replyed, but in a ſhort time, we who approve this kind of jeſt ſhall uſe it in earneſt, in our contracts and tranſactions. * *In fine, he abſolutely forbad him to teach or act tragedies, conceiving their falſity unprofitable, whereto he diſſimulated the deceit of* Piſiſtratus, who ſoon after, * having wounded himſelfe, came into the *Forum* in a Chariot, pretending to have been ſo uſed by his enemies in the behalfe of the common-wealth, and inflamed the people with much rage. *Solon* comming near to him, ſon of *Hippocrates* (ſaith he) you act *Homers Vlyſſes* ill in uſing the ſame means to deceive the Citizens, wherewith he (whipping himſelf) deluded the enemie. Immediately the people flocked in to defend *Piſiſtratus*: *Ariſto* mov'd he might be allowed a ſtanding guard of fiftie men: *Solon* roſe up to oppoſe it, uſing ſpeeches, the effect whereof, he afterwards thus expreſt in verſe.

* *Laert.*

* *Plut.*

If evill your impieties befall,
Gods not the Author of thoſe miſchiefs call,
Your ſelves the cauſes, have given power to thoſe,
Who in requitall, ſervitude impoſe.
Lion whom the footſteps of the fox purſue,
Whoſe ſouls deceit and vanity endue.
The mans ſmooth tongue and ſpeech you only heed,
But never penetrate into the deed.

He alſo foretold them the aimes of *Piſiſtratus*, in an elegy to this effect.

Vapours

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Vapours condens'd ingender hail and snow,
And thunder doth from radiant lightning flow.
The sea is troubled by the raging wind,
When not disturb'd by that, nothing more kind.
A Citty by great persons is orethrown,
And taught beneath a Monarchy to groan.

But seeing the poorer sort much addicted to *Pisistratus*, and tumultuous, the richer afraid, consulting their safetie by flight, he retired, saying, Athenians, I am wiser then some, valianter then others, wiser then those who understand not the deceit of *Pisistratus*, valianter then those, who understand it, yet hold their peace, through fear. The Senate being of the same faction with *Pisistratus*, said he was mad, whereto he answered,

A little time will to the people cleer
My madnesse, when 'th'midst truth shall appear.

The people having granted *Pisistratus* his request concerning a guard, question'd not the number of them, but conniv'd so long at his pressing and maintaining as many souldiers as he pleased, that at last he possest himselfe of the Towers whereupon the Citty being in a tumult, *Megacles*, with the rest of the *Alcmæonidæ* fled. *Solon* now very old, and destitute of those that might back him, went into the *Forum*, *armed with a spear and shield, and made an oration to the people, partly accusing them of folly and cowardise, partly inciting them not to forsake their libertie, using this celebrious speech, "It had been "far easier to have suppresst this tyranny in its growth, but much "more noble to cut it off now it is at the height. No man daring to hear him, he went home, and taking his armes, set them in the street before his door (*Laertius* saith, *before the Magazin*) saying, "I have helped my Country and the Law as much as "lay in me; or as *Laertius*, "O Country, I have assisted thee both "in word and deed. *Plutarch* addes, that from that time he lived retired, addicted to his study; and told by many the Tyrant would put him to death, and demanded wherein he confided so much, he answered, in his age: but *Laertius* affirmes (which seemes truer) that assoon as he had laid down his armes, he forsook the Country: and *Agellius*, that in the raign of *Servius Tullius*, *Pisistratus* was Tyrant of *Athens*, *Solon* going first away into voluntary exile.

* *Laert.*

* *Lib.* 17. *cap.* 21.

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CHAP. XI.

How he travelled to Lydia, *and* Cilicia.

Solon at his departure from *Athens* received invitations from many; by *Thales* desired to come to *Miletus*, by *Bias*, to *Priene*, by *Epimenides*, to *Creet*, by *Cleobulus* to *Lindus*, as is evident from their severall letters to that effect: even *Pisistratus* pressed him to return home by this Epistle.

Pisistratus *to* Solon.

"NEither am I the only person of the Greeks, nor am I "without right to the Kingdome I possesse, as being "descended from *Codrus*: that which the Athenians having "sworn to give to *Codrus* and his heirs, took away, I have re- "covered; no otherwise do I offend either God or man; I take care that the common-wealth be governed according to the "lawes you ordained for the Athenians, and that better then "by a Democratie: I suffer none to do wrong, neither do I "enjoy any priviledges of a Tyrant, more then honour and "dignity, such rewards only as were conferr'd upon the antient "Kings; every man paies the tenth of his estate, not to me, but "to the maintenance of publick sacrifices, or other charges of "the common-wealth, or against time of war. You I blame not "for discovering my intents, you did it more in love to the "state, then in hate to me; besides, you knew not what go- "vernment I meant to establish, which if you had, perhaps you "would have brooked my rule, and not banisht your selfe; "returne therefore home, and believe me without an oath: "*Solon* shall never receive any displeasure from *Pisistratus*, you "know my very enemies have not, and if you will vouch- "safe to be of my friends, you shall be of the first, for I never "saw any thing in you deceitfull or false; if otherwise, you "will live with the Athenians, use your freedome, only deprive "not your selfe of your country for my sake.

Solon returned this answer.

Solon to *Pisistratus*.

"I Beleeve I shall not suffer any harm by you, for before you "were Tyrant, I was your friend, and at present am no "more your enemie, then any other Athenian who dislikes "Tyrannie: whether it be better they be governed by a single "person, or by a Democratie, let both parties determine. I pro-

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" pronounce you the beſt of Tyrants; but to returne to *A-*
" *thens* I think not fitting, leſt I incur blame, who ſetled an e-
" quality in the Athenian common-wealth, and would not ac-
" cept of the Tyranny; by returning, I ſhall comply with thy
" actions.

Cræſus alſo ſent to invite him, to whom he thus anſwered.

Solon *to* Cræſus.

" I Love your humanity towards us, and by *Pallas*, but that I
" affect above all things to live under a Democratie, I ſhould
" much ſooner chooſe to live in your Kingdome, then at *A-*
" *thens*, whilſt *Piſiſtratus* rules there by force; but it is moſt plea-
" ſing to me to live where all things are juſt and equall; yet will
" I come over to you, being deſirous to become your gueſt.

Solon upon this invitation went to *Sardys*, where *Cræſus* (ſaith *Herodotus*) received him kindly: after the third or fourth day the Officers at *Cræſus* appointment lead him into the treaſuries, to ſhew him all their greatneſſe and riches; when he had beheld all, *Cræſus* ſpoke thus unto him. " Athenian gueſt, be-
" cauſe we have heard much fame of your wiſdome and expe-
" rience, having out of love to Philoſophy travelled into many
" Countries, I have a deſire to enquire of you if ever you ſaw
" any man whom you could call moſt happy. This he deman-
ded, hoping himſelfe to be eſteemed ſuch. *Solon* nothing flatte-
ring him, anſwered according to the truth, ſaying, " O King,
" *Tellus* the Athenian. At which ſpeech *Cræſus* wondering.
" Why do you judge *Tellus* the moſt happy? Becauſe (replied
" *Solon*) in a well ordered ſtate, he had children honeſt and
" good, and ſaw every one of thoſe have children all living;
" thus having paſſed his life as well as is poſſible for man, he
" ended it glorioufly: a fight happening between the Athenians
" and their neighbours in *Eleuſis*, he came in to their ſuccour, and
" and putting the enemy to flight, died nobly; the Athenians
" buried him in the place where he fell, with much honour.
Whilſt *Solon* recounted the happineſſe of *Tellus*, *Cræſus* being mov'd, demanded to whom he aſſign'd the next place, making no queſtion but himſelfe ſhould be named a ſecond.
" *Cleobis* (ſaith he) and *Bito*, they were Argives by birth,
" they had ſufficient wherewithall to maintain themſelves;
" and withall, ſo great ſtrength of body, that both were
" alike victors in the publick games, of whom it is thus
" reported; the Argives celebrating the feaſtivall of *Juno*, it
" was neceſſary their Mother ſhould be drawn to the Tem-
" ple by a pair of Oxen, there being no Oxen in the field
" ready, theſe young men, ſtreitned in time, underwent
the

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"the yoke, and drew the chariot of their Mother fortie five
"ſtadia, till they came to the Temple; when they had ſo done,
"in the ſight of all the people, they obtain'd the happieſt end
"of their daies, whereby the God declared it better for a man
"to die then to live; the Argive, preſſing about them, the men
"applauding the piety of the Sons, the Women the happineſſe
"of the Mother, the Mother her ſelfe infinitely joyed with the
"action, and the glory thereof, ſtanding before the image, pray-
"ed the Goddeſſe to give her ſons, *Cleobis* and *Bito* the beſt thing
"that could happen to man; after this prayer, having ſacri-
"ficed and feaſted, they lay down to ſleep in the Temple, and
"never waked more, but ſo ended their daies: their Images (as
"of moſt excellent perſons) were made by the Argives, and ſet
"up at *Delphi*. Theſe *Solon* ranked in the ſecond degree. Here-
"at *Cræſus* growing angry; ſtranger (ſaid he) doth our happi-
"neſſe ſeem ſo deſpicable, that you will not rank us equall
"with private perſons? He anſwered, do you enquire *Cræſus*
"concerning human affairs of me, who know, that divine pro-
"dence is ſevere and full of alteration? In proceſſe of time we
"ſee many things we would not, we ſuffer many things we
"would not; let us propoſe ſeventy yeers, as the term of mans
"life, which yeares conſiſt of twenty five thouſand and two
"hundred daies, beſides the additionall month, if we make one
"year longer then another by that Month, to make the time
"accord the additionall months, belonging to thoſe ſeventy
"years, will be thirty five, the daies of thoſe months a thou-
"ſand and fiftie, whereof one is not in all things like another:
"ſo that every man, O *Cræſus*, is miſerable! you appear to me
"very rich, and are King over many, but the queſtion you de-
"mand I cannot reſolve, untill I hear you have ended
"your daies happily; he who hath much wealth is not happier,
"then he who gets his living from day to day, unleſſe fortune
"continuing all thoſe good things to him, grant that he die
"well. There are many men very rich, yet unfortunate, many
"of moderate eſtates, fortunate, of whom, he who abounds in
"wealth, and is not happy, exceeds the fortunate only in two
"things, the other him in many; the rich is more able to ſatisfie
"his deſires, and to overcome great injuries; yet the fortunate
"excells him, he cannot indeed inflict hurt on others, and ſa-
"tisfie his own deſires, his good fortune debarres him of theſe:
"but he is free from ills, healthfull, happy in his children,
"and beautifull, if to this a man dies well, that is he whom you
"ſeek, who deſerves to be called happy; before death he can-
"not be ſtil'd happy, but fortunate; yet for one man to obtain
"all this is impoſſible, as one country cannot furniſh it ſelfe
"with all things, ſome it hath, others it wants, that which
"hath moſt is beſt; ſo in men, no one is perfect, what one hath,
"the

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"the other wants; he who hath constantly most, and at last "quietly departs this life, in opinion, O King, deserves to bear "that name. In every thing we must have regard to the end, "whether it tends for many, to whom God dispenceth all good "fortunes, he at last utterly subverts. This story is related by *Plutarch*, also mentioned by *Laertius*, who addes, that "*Crœsus* "being magnificently adorned and seated on his Throne, asked "him, *whether he had ever seen any thing more glorious?* who answe- "red, *Cocks, Pheasants, & Peacocks, who are much more beautiful in their naturall flower.* *Solon after this discourse with *Crœsus*, not soothing him, or making any esteem of him, was dismissed, and accounted unwise, for neglecting the present good in regard to the future. * *Æsope*, the writter of fables was at that time at *Sardis*, sent for thither by *Crœsus*, with whom he was much in favour; he was grieved to see *Solon* so unthankfully dismist, and said to him, *Solon*, we must either tell Kings nothing at all, or what may please them. No, saith *Solon*, either nothing at all, or what is best for them. Thus was *Solon* much despised by *Crœsus*.

* Herodot. * Plut. * Herod.

* "Afterwards *Crœsus* being taken prisoner by *Cyrus* was at "his command fettered and set upon a great pile of wood to be "burned: as he was in this posture, it came into his minde what "*Solon* had divinely said to him, that no living man is happy; as "soone as he remembred those words, he fell into a great de- "fection of Spirit, and sighing deeply, named *Solon* thrice, which "*Cyrus* hearing, commanded the interpreters to aske upon "whom he called, they went to him and asked, he was silent, "at last pressing him further he answered, *upon him who I desire above all wealth, might have spoken with all tyrants*; "not understan- "ing, after much pressure and importunity, he told them, *Solon an* Athenian *came long since to him, and beholding all his wealth, valued it at nothing, moreover that all which he told him had come to passe, nor did it more belong to him then to all mankind, especially to those who think themselves happy.* "Whilst *Crœsus* said this, the fire began to kin- "dle, and the outward parts thereof to be seized by the flame. "*Cyrus* being informed by an interpreter of all that *Crœsus* said, "began to relent, knowing himselfe to be but a man, who de- "livered another man, nothing inferiour to him in wealth, to "be burned alive, fearing to be punished for that act, and con- "sidering that nothing was certain in human affairs, he com- "manded the fire to be instantly quenched, and *Crœsus*, and "those that were with him to be brought off, * whom ever "after as long as he lived, he had in esteem. Thus *Solon* gained praise, that of two Kings, his speech preserved one, and instructed the other.

Plutarch relates this done in the former ten years travail of *Solon*, upon the finishing of his lawes, whence he maketh an Apology for the incongruity thereof, with the rules of Chrono-

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logy, which had leſſe needed, if with *Laertius*, he had placed it after *Piſiſtratus* his uſurpation of the tyranny.

Laertius ſaith, he went from hence to *Cilicia*, and built there a Citty, called after him *Soleis*, whither he brought alſo ſome few Athenians, whoſe language growing corrupt by that of the country, they were ſaid to ſolæciſe; of this is the Etymologiſt doubtleſſe to be underſtood, who derives Σολοικοι απο σολων κιλικιων (ſo read we, not απο Σολωνος κιλικος.) This is alſo atteſted by *Suidas*, as a diſtinct relation from that of *Cyprus*, in confirmation whereof *Laertius* addes, the Cilicians were called *Solenſes*, the Cyprians *Solii*.

CHAP. XII.

His death.

* *Plut.* * *De longævis.* * HEraclides affirmes, *Solon* lived long after *Piſiſtratus* began to raign; * *Lucian* that his life extended to a hundred years; with whom thoſe beſt agree, who ſay (as *Suidas* relates) * *Plut.* he lived in the fiftie ſix Olympiad; * but according to *Phanias*, *Piſiſtratus took the Tyranny upon him, when* Comias *was Archon, and* Solon *died,* Hegeſtratus *being Archon, who ſucceeded* Comias, *which was in the firſt year of the fiftie fifti Olympiad.* If this latter opinion had not every where taken place of the other, the diſagreement betwixt the time of *Solon*'s death, and *Cræſus* raign had not been urged by many, as an argument againſt the ſtory of their meeting.

He dyed (according to *Laertius*) aged eighty years (being, as **Var. hiſt.* 8. 16. * *Elian* ſaith, very decrepit) in *Cyprus*, (as is likewiſe atteſted by * *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 3. * *Valerius Maximus*, and **Suidas*) * and left order with his friends * *Laert.* that they ſhould carry his bones to *Salamis*, & there cauſing them to be burnt, ſcatter the aſhes all over the country; which ſtory *Plutarch* (though he counts it fabulous) acknowledgeth to be atteſted by many Authors of credit, particularly *Ariſtotle*.

Laertius confirms it by the teſtimony of *Cratinus*, who makes him ſpeak thus;

The Iſland I inhabit, ſown
As fame reports, in Ajax *Town;*

That deſire of knowledge which he uſually profeſt continu- * *Val. Max.* 8. 7. ed with him to his end, * confirmed the laſt day of his life; his friends ſitting about him, and falling into ſome diſcourſe, he raiſed his weary head, and being demanded why he did ſo, he anſwered, *that when I have learnt that, whatſoever it be, whereon* * *Stob.* 29. *you diſpute, I may die.* * His brothers ſon ſinging an ode of *Sappho*, he delighted therewith, bad him teach him it, and being demanded

manded why, *that*, said he, *I may learn whilst I depart out of this life.*

After his death, the Athenians erected his statue in brasse, before * the checker'd cloister'd * in the forum: Another was set up at *Salamis*, hiding (as *Demosthenes* and *Eschines* describe it) the hand within the garment, in the same habit wherein he used to make speeches to the Athenians; perhaps the same that carried this inscription,

* *Pausan. Attic.*
* *Demosth. in Aristog. 2. Elian. var. hist. 8. 16.*

Fam'd Salamis, *the Persian pride cast down,*
And gave to Solon *birth, the lawes renown.*

Laertius bestowes this Epigram upon him.

A forraign Cyprian fire burn'd Solon, *yet*
Salamis *keeps his bones, their ashes wheat;*
His Soul to heaven mounts with his lawes, so light
A burthen, they not clog, but help his flight.

CHAP. XIII.

His writings.

HIs excellency both in Rhetorick and Poetry is attested by many: *Cicero*, * "Before *Solon's* time, no man is recorded "for eloquence." * And again, "*Lycurgus* and *Solon* we place in the "number of the eloquent. * *Dion, Chrysostome, Aristides, Lycurgus,* "*Solon, Epaminondas*, and if there be any other in the same kind, "ought to be esteemed Philosophers in the common-wealth, "or Oratours, according to ingenious true Rhetorick. * *Aristides*, "*Solon* is said to have sung those things which concern "the *Megarenses*, but neither his Lawes nor Orations, which "sometimes he made for the rich to the commons, sometimes "for the commons to the rich, did he sing or compriſe in verse, "but used a rhetoricall form, excellently demonstrating in all "these, that he deserved to be esteemed an Oratour and a "Wise-man, having attained both those titles and faculties.

* *In Bruto.*
* *De orat. lib. 1.*
* *Orat. 21.*
* *Orat. Plat. 2.*

As to Poetry, *Plutarch* averres, "he addicted himselfe thereto "from the beginning, not in serious matters, but ludicrous, "used (as it seemes) for his exercise and pastime; afterwards he "included many Philosophicall sentences in verse, and many "affaires of state, not in relation to history, but to vindicate "his own actions, sometimes also to correct and reprove the "Athenians. *Plato* saith, "* that at the Apaturian feast, the "boyes used to repeat his poems; and that if he had applyed "himselfe to nothing but Poetry as others did, and had finished "the history he brought out of *Egypt*, and had not been con-

* *In Timæo.*
* *1. Crit.*

"strain-

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"strained by seditions and other distractions to lay aside that "study, neither *Hesiod*, *Homer*, nor any of the Poets would have "been more famous.

Of his writings in *Prose*, we must with *Laertius* name in the first place his

Lawes, of which already.

Orations to the people.

* *Eclig. dict. Attic.* His *Poems* are cited under that generall title by * *Phrynicus*, their particular subjects and titles these.

* *In Orat. περὶ νόσων.* *Exhortations to himselfe*, mentioned by *Laertius*, * *Aristides*, and *Suidas*.

Elegies;

Salamis, of which *Chap.* 2.

Of the Athenian common-wealth, which *Laertius* affirmes to have extended to two thousand verses, according to * *Pausanias*, and * *Philo*, *Elegiack*.

* *Attic.* * *περὶ νόσων.* *Iambicks*, mentioned by *Laertius*, cited by *Athenæus* and *Aristides*.

Epodes, mentioned by *Laertius*.

Elegies to King Cypranor, cited by the author of *Aratus*, his life.

Ἀδμήτου, cited by *Laertius*.

Some (saith *Plutarch*) affirme, he began to reduce his own Lawes into verse.

The last work he undertook was concerning the Atlantick speech or fable, which beginning late, he was deterred by the greatnesse of the work, as *Plutarch* saith, and prevented by death.

Besides those Epistles already alledged, these are preserved also by *Laertius*.

Solon *to* Periander.

"YOu send me word, there are many who plot against you; "if you should put them all to death, it would advan- "tage you nothing; some one there may be of those, whom you "suspect not, who plotts against you, either fearing himselfe, or "disdaining you, or desirous to ingratiate himselfe with the "City, though you have done him no injury; it is best, if you "would be free from jealousie, to acquit your selfe of the cause, "but if you will continue in Tyranny, take care to provide a "greater strength of strangers then is in your own City; so shall "you need to fear no man, nor to put any to death.

Solon

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Solon *to* Epimenides.

"NEither are my lawes likely to benefit the Athenians long, "nor have you advantaged the City by lustration; for "divine right and law-givers cannot alone benefit Cities; it "importeth much of what mind they are who lead the com- "mon people; divine rights and lawes, if they direct them well, "are profitable, if they direct them ill, profit nothing; neither "are those lawes I gave in any better condition; they who had "charge of the common-wealth, not preventing *Pisistratus* his "usurpation of the tyranny, lost the City, of which, when I "foretold them, I could not be believed; the Athenians would "rather credit his flatteries, then my truth; wherefore laying "down my armes before the Magazin, I said, that I was wiser "then those who did not see *Pisistratus* aimed at the Tyranny; "and stouter then those who durst not resist him: they repu- "ted *Solon* a mad-man. Lastly, I made this profession, O coun- "try! behold *Solon* ready to vindicate thee in word and deed: "they again esteem'd me mad. Thus I beeing the only person "that oppos'd *Pisistratus*, I came away from them; let them "guard him with their armes if they please; for know (dear "friend) the man came very cunningly by the Kingdome, he "complyed at first with the Democratie, afterwards wounding "himselfe, came into *Eliæa*, crying out, he had received those "hurts from his enemies, and required a guard of foure hun- "dred young men, which they (not harkening to me) granted; "these carried halberds: after this, he dissolved the popular "government; truly I laboured in vain to free the poorer sort "from mercenary slavery, when they all now serve one *Pisistra-* "*tus*.

Such fragments of his Poems as have been hitherto preser- ved are thus collected.

Out of his Elegies.

Sprung from Mnemosyne *and* Joves *great line,*
Pierian Muses, to my prayer encline,
Grant that my life and actions may call down
Blessings from heaven, and raise on earth renown:
Sweet to my friends, and bitter to my foes,
To these my sight bring terror, joy to those.
Riches I wish, not riches that are plac't
In unjust means, for vengeance comes at last.
Riches dispenc'd by heavens more bounteous hand,
A base on which we may unshaken stand.
But that which men by injuries obtain,

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That which by arts and deeds unjust they gain
Comes slowly, swiftly by revenge pursued,
And miserie like a close spark include,
Which soon to a devouring flame dilates,
Wrong is a weak foundation for estates.
Jove doth the end of every thing survey:
As sodain vernall blasts chase clouds away.
Ransack the bottom of the roaring main,
Then swiftly overrun the fertile plain,
Ruffling the wealthy ears; at last they rise
To Joves high seat, a calm then smooths the skies.
The Sun's rich lustre mildly gilds the green
Enamell of the meads, no clouds are seen,
Such is Joves heavie anger diff'ring far
From men, whose every trifle leads to war:
They are not hid for ever, who offend
In secret, judgment finds them in the end.
Some in the act are punisht, others late,
Even he who thinks he hath deluded fate;
At last resents it in just miseries,
Which Nephewes for their Ancestors chastise.
We think it fares alike with good and bad
Glory and selfe-conceit our fancies glad
Till suffering comes, then their griev'd spirits bleed,
Who did before their soules with vain hope feed.
He whom incurable diseases seize,
Sooths his deluded thoughts, with hopes of ease.
The coward's valiant in his own esteem,
And to themselves, faire the deformed seem.
They who want means, by poverty oppresst
Beleeve themselves of full estates possest.
All is attempted, some new seas explore
To bring home riches from a forraign shore:
Seas, on whose boisterous back secur'd they ride,
And in the mercy of the winds confide:
Others to crooked ploughes their Oxen yoke,
And Autumn with their plants and setts provoke.
Some Vulcan's and Minerva's arts admire,
And by their hands, their livelyhoods acquire.
Others the fair Olympian muses trace,
And lovely learning studiously embrace.
One by Apollo is prophetick made,
And tells what mischiefs others shall invade:
With him the Gods converse, but all the skill
In birds or victimes cannot hinder ill.
Some to Peonian knowledge are inclin'd,
Nor is the power of simples unconfin'd.

The

The ſmalleſt hurts ſometimes increaſe and rage,
More then all art of phyſick can aſſuage;
Sometimes the fury of the worſt diſeaſe,
The hand by gentle ſtroking will appeaſe.
Thus good or bad arrives as fates deſign,
Man cannot what the Gods diſpenc'd declina.
All actions are uncertain, no man knowes
When he begins a work, how it ſhall cloſe.
Some, who their buſineſſe weigh with prudent care,
Oft of the iſſue intercepted are:
Whilſt others who have raſhly ought deſign'd,
An end ſucceſsfull of their labours find.
There is no bound to thoſe who wealth acquire,
For they who are poſſeſt of moſt, deſire
As much again, and who can all content,
Even thoſe full bleſſings which the Gods have lent,
Man variouſly to his own harm applies,
Whom Jove *by means as various doth chaſtice.*

Again.

Our City never can ſubverted be
By Jove, *or any other Deitie;*
For Pallas *eye ſurveyes with pious care*
The wals, which by her hand protected are:
Yet the inhabitants of this great Town,
Fondly inclin'd to wealth, will throw it down;
And thoſe unjuſt great perſons who are bent
Others to wrong, themſelves to diſcontent;
For their inſatiate fancies have not power
To enjoy the ſweetneſſe of the inſtant hower;
But by all wicked means, intent on gain,
From hallowed, nor from publick things refrain.
Riches by theft and cozenage to poſſeſſe,
The ſacred bounds of juſtice they tranſgreſſe.
Who ſilent ſees the preſent, knowes the paſt,
And will revenge theſe injuries at laſt:
Cauſing a cureleſs rupture in the ſtate,
And all our liberties ſhall captivate.
Rouſe war from his long ſlumber, who the flower
Of all our youths ſhall bloodily devour.
For Cities which injuriouſly oppoſe
Their friends, are ſoon invaded by their foes.
Theſe are the common evills; of the poor
Many tranſported to a forraign ſhore,
To bondage there, and fetters ſhall be ſold.

Each

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Each private house thus shares the publick fate,
Nor can exclude it with a bar'd-up gate;
For scaling furiously the higher walls,
On those whom beds or corners hides, it falls.
My soule, Athenians, *prompts me to relate*
What miseries upon injustice wait:
But justice all things orderly designes,
And in strict fetters the unjust confines.
What's soure, she sweetens, and allaies what cloyes,
Wrong she repells, ill in the grouth destroyes,
Softens the stubborn, the unjust reformes,
And in the state calmes all seditious stormes:
Bitter dissention by her raign suppress,
Who wisely governes all things for the best.

Another.

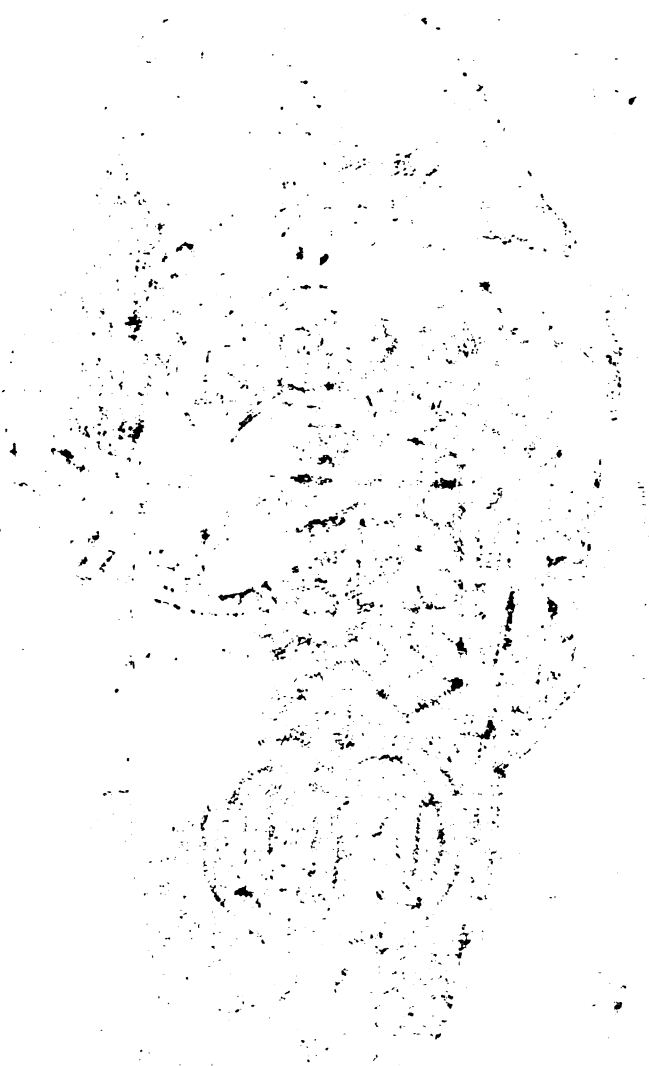
NO man is blessed, bad is every one
That feeles the warmth of the all-seeing Sun.

Another.

LEt me not die unpitied, every friend
With sighes and tears my last hower attend.

CHI-

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CHILO.

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CHILON.

CHAP. I.

Chilon *his life.*

CHILON was a Lacedæmonian, son of *Damagetus*, corruptly termed in *Stobæus, Page 6. He was eminent amongst the Greeks for two predictions. * Laert. * Serm. 28.

The first to *Hippocrates*, * *to whom (being a private person) hapned a great prodigie at the Olympick games: having prepared an offering, and filled a Cauldron with flesh and water, it boiled over without fire: This portent* Chilon *(accidentally present) beholding, advised him that he should not take a wife by whom he might have issue; that if he had one, he should put her away, and if a son, turn him out of dores:* Hippocrates *not following this advice, brought up his son* Pisistratus, *who in the sedition of the Maritimes and countrymen at* Athens, *those led by* Megacles, *these by* Lycurgus, *stirred up a third faction, and gained the tyranny.* * *Herodot. lib. 1.* Laert.

* *He was much renowned also for his prediction concerning* Cythera *a Lacedæmonian Island; examining the Scituation thereof, would to God (said he) it had never been; or since it is, it might be swallowed up by the sea, and wisely did he foresee.* Damaratus, *a Lacedæmonian exile, counselled* Xerxes *to seize upon that Island, which advice if he had followed, would have ruined all Greece.* His words (according to * *Herodotus*) were these. *You may effect your desires, if you send three hundred ships to the Lacedæmonian coast; there lies an Island, named* Cythera, *of which* Chilon, *a person of greatest wisdome amongst us, said, it were better for the Lacedæmonians that it were under water then above: he, it seemes, expected from it some such thing as I am now going to declare, not that he foresaw your Navy, but doubting any in the same kind; Let your men issue out of this Island upon the Lacedæmonians, to strike them into terror.* * Afterwards, in the time of the Peloponesian war, *Nicias* taking the Island, placed some Athenians therein, who much infested the Lacedæmonians. * *Laert.* * *Lib. 7. 235:* * *Laert.*

Laertius saith, that *he was sold in the fifty two Olympiad, at what time* Æsop *flourish'd:* that *he was Ephorus in the fiftie sixt. (Casaubon* reads the fiftie five) *but* Pamphila (continueth *Laertius*) *saith in the sixt. He was first Ephorus, when* Euthydemus *was Archon, as* Sosicrates *also affirmes, and first appointed the Ephori to be joyned with Kings, which* Satyrus *saith, was the institution of* Lycurgus. Hence it is doubtfull

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whether *Chilon* was Ephorus in the sixt Olympiad, or in the fiftie sixt; the latter is more probable, in as much as he bore that office when *Euthydemus* was Archon at *Athens*, which was in the fiftie sixt Olympiad, as appeares by the *Marmor Arundelianum*, where for Ἐυθυδήμου is corruptly read τῶν Ἀθηνῶν rendred *Archonte populo*. But it is likewise true, that the Ephori were first created about the sixt Olympiad, when *Polydorus* and *Theopompus* were Kings of *Lacedæmon*, a hundred and thirty yeares after *Lycurgus*, as *Plutarch* (in his life) affirmes, from which time there were five annuall Ephori chosen in *Lacedæmon*, whereof the first is called ἐπώνυμος, because the year had its denomination from him: the first of the first election was *Elatus*; *Chilon* in the fiftie sixt Olympiad was the first of the five of his year; which might perhaps give the occasion of the mistake to them, who take him to be the first of that institution, of whom is *Scaliger*.

* *Plut. vit. Lycur.*

* *In Eusеb. p. 67:*

* *Laert.*

* *Laert.*

* *Lib. 1. cap. 3.*

*How he behav'd himself in this office, may be gathered from his speech * *to his brother, displeased that himself was not Ephorus at the same time*: "*I can bear injuries, saith he, you cannot.*

He was so just in all his actions, * that in his old age he professed, he never had done any thing contrary to the conscience of an upright man, only that of one thing he was doubtfull; having given sentence against his friend according to law, he advised his friend to appeal from him (his Judge) so to preserve both his friend and the law: * *Agellius* relates it thus; "When "his life drew towards an end, ready to be seized by death, he "spoke thus to his friends about him:, My words and actions "in this long tearm of years, have been (almost all) such as I "need not repent of, which perhaps you also know; truly even "at this time I am certain, I never committed any thing, the "remembrance whereof begets any trouble in me, unlesse this "one thing only, which whether it were done amisse or not, I "am uncertain: I sat with two others as Judge upon the life of "my friend; the law was such, as the person must of necessity "be condemned; so that either my friend must lose his life, or "some deceit be used towards the Law: revolving many things "in my mind for relief of a condition so despeate, I conceived "that which I put in practise to be of all other the most easie "to be born: Silently I condemned him, and perswaded those "others who judged to absolve him: Thus preserved (in so "great a businesse) the dutie both of a judge and friend; but "from that act I receive this trouble, that I fear it is not free "from perfidiousnesse and guilt, in the same businesse, at the "same time, and in a publick affair, to perswade others, contra-"ry to what was in my own judgment best.

CHAP.

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CHAP. II.

His morall sentences, precepts, and verses.

OF his Apothegmes, these are remembered by *Laertius*; *he said, providence of future things collected by reason, is the vertue of a man. Being demanded wherein the learned differ from the unlearned? he answered in a good hope? What is hard? to conceal secrets, to dispose of leasure well; and to be able to bear an injury.*

* Being invited to a feast by *Periander*, (with the rest of the wise-men,) he would not promise to come before he knew what other company would be there, saying, *a man is necessitated to brook an ill companion in a ship at sea, or in a tent in a camp; but to mix indifferently with all sorts of people at a feast is indiscretion.* Upon the same occasion *Plutarch* recites these sentences of his; *A Prince must not think upon any transitory mortall things, but only upon the eternall, and immortall. That common-wealth is best where the people minde the Law, more then the Lawyers. A family must resemble as much as possible a City governed by a King.* * *Hearing a man say he had no enemie, he asked him if he had any friends; conceiving love and hate necessarily must follow one another.*

* *Plutarch. Simpos. sept. sap.*

* *Plut. de anima.*

His morall precepts are thus delivered by * *Demetrius Phalereus*. *Know thy selfe. Speak not much in thy drink, for thou wilt transgresse.* (or as *Laertius*, rule thy tongue, especially at a feast) *Threaten not free persons, for it is not just.* (*Laertius*, threaten none, for that is like a woman) *Speak not ill of thy neighbour, if thou dost, thou shalt hear what will trouble thee. Go slowly to the feasts of thy friends, swiftly to their misfortunes.* (*Laertius*, go more readily to a friend in adversity then in prosperity.) *Celebrate marriage frugally. Speak well of the dead. Reverence thy elder* (*Laertius*, honour age) *Hate him who is inquisitive into the businesse of others. Preferre losse before unjust gain* (for that (addes *Laertius*) brings grief but once, this for ever) *Deride not the unfortunate. If thou art strong, behave thy selfe mildely, that thou mayst rather be respected then fear'd* (*Laertius*, of thy neighbours. Learn to) *Order thy house well. Let not thy tongue run before thy mind. Bridle thy anger. Covet not impossibilities. In the way hasten not forward. Shake not thy hand,* (*Laertius*, in discourse) *for it is like a mad-man. Obey the Lawes. Be reconciled to those who have wrong'd you, but revenge contumelies.* To which *Laertius* addes these, *To preserve thy selfe. Not to hate divination, make use of quietnesse.*

* *Stob. serm. 28.*

* *Pliny* speaking of authority, saith, that *men* ranked Chilon *amongst Oracles, consecrating three precepts of his at* Delphi, *in golden letters, which are these: Every man to know himselfe, and to desire no thing too much; the companion of anothers mony and wife is misery.*

* *Lib. 7. cap. 32.*

* He only kept within bounds the two most fierce affections of the soule, Love, and Hate, saying, *Love with such limitation, as if hereafter you might chance to hate: hate so farre, as that perhaps you might hereafter love.*

* *Agell.*

Auso-

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Ausonius ascribes to him the effect of these verses.

Me, may the mean not fear, nor great despise,
Have death and health alike before thy eyes.
The benefits thou giv'st, remember never,
Of those thou dost receive, be mindfull ever.
Learn of thy selfe and friend t'orecome crosse fate,
Age, youth resembling, is a light estate,
Youth, age resembling, is a greater weight.

His particular sentence was, *To a surety, losse is near.* Of his Ἀφορίσματα, *Laertius* mentions this, as most eminent.

Gold's worth we by the touchstone find,
Gold is the touchstone of the mind.

* *Laert.* *He asked *Æsop* what *Jupiter* was doing, who answered, pulling down the high, and raising the low.

CHAP. III.

His death, and writings.

* *Laert.* HE died (according to * *Hermippus*) at *Pisa*, embracing his son, victor in the Olympick games, of the cæstus, the weakness of his age overcome with excesse of joy; all who were present at that great assembly attended on his funeralls, * *Lib. 7. cap. 32* as is affirmed by * *Pliny* and *Laertius*, who hath this Epigram upon him,

To thee illustrious Pollux *thanks I pay,*
That Chilons *son the Olive bore away.*
The father died ore-joy'd his child to see
So crown'd: a happy death! such befall me:

Upon his statue, this inscription.

The birth of Chilon *warlick* Sparta *grac'd,*
Who of the seven, in the first rank was plac'd.

* *Laert.* *He was short in speech, whence *Aristagoras* calls that man-
* *Lud. sept. sap.* ner of speaking *Chilonian*: * *Ausonius* also alludes hereto in the speech he makes under his name.

* *Laert.* *He writ Elegies extending almost to two hundred verses: there is likewise an Epistle of his extant to this effect.

Chilon *to* Periander.

"YOu send me word of an expedition you are preparing a-
"gainst forraigners, intending to go in person with your
"Army: a monarch, I think, hath little safetie, even at home.
"That Tyrant I esteem happy who dies at home a naturall
"death.

PIT.

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PITTACVS

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PITTACVS.

CHAP. I.

Pittacus *his life.*



PITTACVS was of *Mitelene* (the chief City of *Lesbos*) son of *Caicus*, * or (rather) *Hyrrhadius*, a Thracian, his Mother a Lesbian, born in the thirtie two Olympiad. * *Laert. & Suid.*

Laertius saith, he flouriſhed in the fortie two Olympiad; *at that time he gave teſtimony of his great courage and love to his Country, in killing (aſſiſted by the brethren of *Alcæus* the Poet) *Melanchrius*, tyrant of *Leſbos* and *Mitelene*. * *So the vatican M. S. of Suidas, which better then the printed editions, which read* καὶ. * *Suid.*

*Pittacus grown eminent by this action, was by the Mitelenæans made Generall, and *ſent with a fleet againſt the *Athenians*, with whom they had a long conteſt concerning the Achillæan field: the ground of their difference this: *Piſiſtratus *took* Sigeum *by force from the Mitelæans, and ſetled there (as King)* Hegeſiſtratus *his naturall Son, by an Argive woman, who kept it, not without much diſpute; for betwixt the Mitelenæans and Athenians there was a long war, thoſe ſallying out of the Achillæan Town, theſe out of* Sigæum: *thoſe lay claim to the Town, as built by *Archæanactes* of *Mitelene*, of the ſtones of old *Troy* (for the Leſbians challenged the greateſt part of *Troas* as their hereditary right, where they had built many houſes, ſome, ſaith *Strabo*, ſtanding at this day, others demoliſhed) *theſe oppoſed their claim; alledging the *Æolians had no more right to this Ilian country, then themſelves or any other of the Greeks, who aſſiſted* Menelaus *in the recovery of* Hellen. *The Athenians ſent thither as Generall *Phryno*, a tall robuſt perſon, who had been victor in all the Olympick exerciſes; perhaps the ſame whom *Euſebius* names in the thirtie ſix Olympiad. *Pittacus *having been ſeverall times worſted in battle, at laſt challenged* Phryno *to ſingle combat, and met him, being armed with the weapons of a fiſherman, hiding a net under his ſhield, wherewith catching* Phryno *ſuddenly, he ſlew him with his trident and dagger, and by his death recovered the field.* From this ſtratagem of *Pittacus*, was derived the like kind of fighting amongſt the Roman gladiatours, called *Retiarii* (deſcribed by *Lipſius*) as is expreſly obſerved by *Polyænus* and *Feſtus*. * *Laert.* * *Strab.* * *Herod. l. 94.* * *Strab. lib. 13.* * *Herod. continues.* * *Strab. Laert.* * *Strab. Laert.* * *Saturnal.* **In Retiario:* * *Strab. Laert.*

* But this war ended not ſo; untill at laſt both parties refer-

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red themselves to *Periander*, * choosing him Umpire; he awarded that each side should keep what they were in possession of, whereby *Sigeum* fell to the Athenians. * Demetrius *argues* Timæus *of falshood, for affirming* Periander *built* Achilleum (*a small town, where was the tomb of* Achilles) *in opposition to the Athenians, of Ilian stones, and thereby to have aided* Pittacus: *but neither was it built of such stones* (saith *Strabo*) *nor was* Periander *the founder: how could he be chosen arbitratour, whose actions had declared him an enemie?*

* Herod. 5. 95.
* Strab.

* Hereupon *Pittacus* was highly honoured by the Mitelenæans, who (* *being infested by banished persons, under the leading of* Antimenides, *and* Alcæus *the Poet*) * either in obligation to his merit, or confidence in his equity, by their free votes (* *though* Alcæus *denie it*) instated him in the Tyrannie; * *with many acclamations of praise, and a great concourse of people* (as is manifest from *Alcæus*, who for that reason reprehends them.) * They also with generall consent offered him great gifts, and bad him take of that field which he recovered from the Citizens as much as he would. He darting his spear, demanded only so much as that had passed over, which he dedicated to *Apollo*, called (even to the time of *Plutarch*, and *Laertius*) *the Pittacæan field:* * Sosicrates averres, he took part of it for himselfe, saying, the halfe was more then the whole: * Thus *he diverted his mind from the gift, conceiving it not fitting to diminish the glory of the vertue, by the greatnesse of the reward.*

* Laert.
* Aristot. polit. 3. 14.
* Val. Max. 6. 5
* Plut. amator.
* Aristot. pol. 3. 14.
* Plut. de malign. Herod. Laert. Suid.
* Laert.
* Val. Max. 6. 5

* *Being possest of this power, he shewed the moderation wherewith his breast was furnished, towards* Alcæus *the Poet, who had behaved himselfe pertinaciously against him, with bitter hate and scurrilous wit* (whereof see many instances in *Laertius*) Pittacus *only inform'd him how able he was to oppresse him.*

* Val. Max. 4. 1.

During his government, he made many Lawes, one whereof is mentioned by *Cicero, forbidding *any man to go to the funerall of such as he was not of kin to.* Another by * *Aristotle*, that *whosoever being drunk, should strike any man, should pay double as much as if he had been sober*; or as *Laertius* delivers it, *whosoever offended, being drunk, should pay a double forfeit*; which he did to restrain the Mitelenæans from drunkennesse, because their Island abounded in wine. His usuall exercise, even whilst he was King, (as *Clearchus* affirmes) was to grind corn, esteeming it a healthfull exercise, much commending a mill, that in so little room, it afforded exercise to many. There was a song, *called for that reason σμυλίον, of which *Thales* *affirmes he heard a she-slave in *Lesbos* sing the beginning as the ground, which was thus.

* De legib. 2.
* Polit. 2. 12.
* Pollux.
* Plut. Sympos. sept. sap.

Grind, grind my Mill amain,
For Pittacus *the Lesbian King*
To grind doth not disdain.

Being

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Being well in years, he was constrained to take upon himself the leading of an Army, whereupon he said, *it is hard to be good*; which * *Simonides* mentions, saying,

* Hence correct Suidas, who saith Simon.

Hard to be truly honest, this
The Pittacean sentence is.

Plato also remembers it in his *Protagoras* (where *Simonides* reproves *Pittacus* for saying, it is hard to continue good, which he affirmes to be easie, but to become good, hard; wherein he differs from *Laertius* his expression of it.

*He continued in the government of the Kingdom ten years, * *Valerius Maximus* saith, *only as long as the war with the Athenians concerning* Sigeum *lasted, but afterwards assoon as peace was obtained by victory* (having in this time setled the affairs of the commonwealth) *he laid it down, notwithstanding the Mitelenæans cried out to the contrary, lest he should continue Lord of the Citizens longer then the necessities of the Kingdome required,* and lived ten years after a private person.

* Laert. 6. 5.

He went to Sardis *at what time* (*as some say, though others apply it to* Bias) Crœsus *having made the Grecians in* Asia *tributary, had given order for the building of a Navy to invade the Islanders: as soon as he came thither,* Crœsus *asked him what newes from Greece? He by his answer, diverted the King from going forward with his building ships: the Islanders, saith he, have bought a world of horses, intending an expedition against* Sardis; *and* Crœsus *thinking he had spoken truth, answered, I wish the Gods would put it in their minds to come against the Lydians on horse-back; he replyed, it is not without reason, great King, that you wish and hope to catch the Islanders on horse-back in the continent; and what think you the Islanders wish more, then (hearing your preparation to set out a Navie against them) that they may catch the Lydians upon the Sea, and revenge the cause of those inland Grecians whom you have reduc'd to servitude.* Crœsus *much delighted with this speech, and dissuaded (for it seemed to him he spoke very ingeniously) from building a Navy, gave it over, and contracted amity with the Ionian Islands.*

* Herod. 1. 27.

CHAP. II.

His morall sentences, precepts, and verses.

OF his Apothegmes, *Laertius* recites these. *The Gods themselves cannot resist necessity. Power shewes the man. Being on a time demanded what is best, he answered, to do the present well. To* Crœsus, *who asked which was the greatest government, that of various (wood saith he) meaning the Law, (carved) in wooden tables. To a Phocean, who said, I must seek an honest man: though you seek much, (saith he) you shall not find*

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find him. To some who demanded what was most pleasing, he answered, Time. He said it was the part of wise men to foresee inconveniencies and prevent them before they came, of valiant men to order them well when they come.

* *Sympos. sept. sap.* Add these from * *Plutarch*, *That Prince is happy, who can make his subject afraid, not of him, but for him. That commonwealth is best ordered, where the wicked have no command, and the good have. That house is best ordered, which needs nothing either of ornament or necessity.*

* *Athen. deipn. lib. 10.* * He counselled *Periander* to shun drunkennesse and excesse in feasting, least he should be known to be what he was, not what he seemed.

* *Laert.* * To a young man asking his advice concerning marriage, what directions he gave, is thus expresst by *Callimachus*.

An Acarnæan stranger Pittacus
Hyrrhadius son of Lesbos question'd thus;
Father a double match is offered me;
The birth and meanes of one with mine agree;
The other far exceeds me, which is best?
By your advice my aime shall be addrest.
Lifting his staffe (his ages sole defence)
He poynting said, go fetch advice from thence.
(There he espi'd some boyes by chance at play,
As they were whipping topps along the way)
Follow their steps saith he. When nigh he drew,
He heard them say, an equall take to you;
By which direction guided, he forsook
The richer fortune, and the equall took;
Be you (as he) by this wise counsell lead,
And take an equall to your Mariage bed.

* *Prom. vinct.* Whither *Æschylus* (as is observ'd by his Scholiast) alluded saying,

Wise, truly wise was he
Who first sententiouslie
His judgement thus expresst,
An equall match is best.

* *Stob. 28.* His Moral precepts are thus collected by * *Demetrius Phalereus*. "Know opportunity; What thou intendest, speake not before "thou dost it, for being frustrate of thy hope, thou will be de-"rided. Use thy friends. What thou tak'st ill in thy neigh-"bour, doe not thy selfe. Reproach not the unhappie, for the "hand of God is on them. Restore what is committed to thy "trust. Beare with thy neighbour. Love thy neighbour. Re-"proach not thy friend, though he recede from thee a little; nor "wish well to thy enemy, it is against reason. It is hard to fore-"see

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"see the future, what is past is certaine, what is to come ob-
"scure. The earth is faithfull, the sea faithlesse; Gaine insati-
"able. Acquire, honesty, Seeke Obsequiousnesse, Love Disci-
"pline, Temperance, Prudence, Truth, Faith, Experience,
"Dexterity, Society, Diligence, Oeconomy and Piety.

'*Ausonius* cites these as his;

None know to speak who know not to refraine,
One goodmans praise 'fore many ill mens gaine.
He's mad who envies in the happy, pride;
Or grief in the unhappie doth deride.
Who makes a law must not that law transgresse;
Purchase all friends thou canst in happinesse,
And to the fewest trust in thy distresse.

* Of his Apoph. these were most celebrious, * Laert.

Who hath a quiver and a bow
Against a wicked man should go
Whose doubtfull tongue never expresst
The faithlesse meaning of his breast.

His particular sentence was, *Know opportunity.*

CHAP. III.

His Death; Brother, Wife, Son, Writings.

*HE lived to a full age, above seventy yeares, or (following the accompt of *Suidas* for his birth) eighty. * *Lucian* exceeds, who reckons him amongst those who lived 100. yeares; for he * dyed when *Aristomenes* was Archon, in the third yeare of the 52. Olympiad, upon his Monument this Epitaph, * *Laert.* * *Longev.* * *Laert.*

Weepe citizens as sacred Lesbos weeps
For Pittacus; *this Tombe his ashes keeps.*

He had a brother who dying without issue, his estate devolved to *Pittacus*; whereupon refusing the wealth *Croesus* offerd him, he said, he had more by halfe then he desired.

He married a wife of birth higher then himself, sister to *Draco* son of *Penthilus*; she behaved her self imperiously towards him, whereof * *Plutarch* gives this instance; *Having invited some friends, she came in and overthrew the table; he seeing his guests troubled said,* "*Each of you hath some misfortune, he is happiest who hath no more then this.* *Laertius* saith, the advice he gave concerning equall marriage (chap. 2.) was out of a resentment of his own troubles. * *De anim. tranquil.*

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* Laert. * He had a ſon named *Tyrrheus*, *who at* Cuma *ſitting in a Barbers ſhop* (as was uſed amongſt the antients by ſuch as loved to diſcourſe of newes) *was caſually killed by a brazier with a blow of a hatchet*; *The* Cumeans *tooke the offendor and ſent him to* Pittacus, *He being informed of the accident, ſet him at liberty ſaying, pardon is better then penitence.*

Of his writings *Laertius* mentions

Ἀσκήσεις, already cited,
Elegies amounting to 600 verſes.
Of lawes in proſe; directed to his own Countrymen.

Epiſtles of which this is preſerved;

Pittacus to *Crœſus.*

"You command me to come to *Lydia* to behold your wealth; "without ſight whereof I can eaſily beleeve the ſon of *Alyattes*, "to be the richeſt of Kings, and therefore need not in that re- "ſpect go to *Sardis*; for I want not gold, but have enough even "for my friends alſo; yet I will come to you to enjoy your con- "verſation as a Gueſt.

* Laert. * There was another *Pittacus* called the Leſſer, a Lawgiver; mentioned by *Phavorinus* and *Demetrius.*

BIAS.

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BIAS.

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BIAS.

CHAP. I.

Bias *his life.*

BIAS was of *Priene*, sone of *Tutamis*; some affirm he was rich, others, that he had no estate, but lived as an inmate. *Satyrus* ranketh him first of the seven wise-men; the occasion whereby that title was conferred on him, was this; he redeemed some captive Messenian virgins, brought them up as his daughters, gave them portions, and so sent them back to their Parents: a Tripod being afterwards found at *Athens* (as was related in the life of *Thales*, the place only different) with this inscription in gold, *To the wise.* These virgins (as *Satyrus* affirmes) or (as *Phanodicus*) their father came into the congregation, and pronounced *Bias wise*, declaring what he had done for them: hereupon the Tripod was sent to him, which *Bias* beholding, averred *Apollo* to be the most wise, and would not accept it; some affirm he dedicated it to *Hercules* at *Thebes*, as being descended from the Theban Colony, sent to *Priene*. * Laert.

That he made good this attribute, there are many instances; * *Alyattes* besieging *Priene*, *Bias* turned out of the Town two exceeding fat mules, which coming to the camp, *Crœsus* wondered to see *their plenty extended to the very beasts, and desirous of reconcilement, sent a messenger to them. *Bias* causing many heaps of sand to be made, and covered over with wheat, shewed them to the messenger; whereof *Alyattes* informed, was more eager of peace then before, and sent immediately to desire *Bias* to come to him; but I (answered he) wish *Alyattes* may feed on onyons, meaning to weep. * Laert. * Laert μίχει πολὺ ἀλλόγνωσιν τεῦξαι αὐτῷ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν read εὐσπλαγχνίαν.

* Some ascribe it to *Bias*, the diversion of *Crœsus* his expedition against the Greek Islands; by others imputed to *Pittacus* related in his life. * Herod. 2. 7.

* *Cyrus* having taken *Crœsus*, sent an Army against the Grecians; the Ionians much troubled, assembled at the *Panionium*, where *Bias* gave them wise advice, which had they followed (saith *Herodotus*) they might have been the happiest of all the Greeks: He counselled them to joyne together in one fleet, to saile to *Sardinia*, and there build one City common to all the Ioni- * Herod 1. 170.

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Ionians; whereby they might preſerve themſelves from bondage, happy in poſſeſſing an Iſland far greater then all the reſt, and commanding them; but if they continued in *Ionia*, there was no apparent hop eof liberty. This advice was juſtified, the Ionians being ſubdued.

*Val. Max. 7. 2. * Bias (*his country* Priene *invaded by enemies, all, whom the cruelty of war ſuffered to eſcape, flying away laden with the moſt precious of their wealth*) *being demanded why he carried none of his goods with him. I* (*ſaith he*) *carry my goods with me: He bore them* (addes *Valerius Maximus*) *in his breaſt, not to be ſeen by the eye, but priſed by the ſoul; encloſed in the narrow dwelling of the mind, not to be demoliſhed by mortall hands, preſent with thoſe who are ſetled, and not forſaking ſuch as flie.*

* Plut. conv. ſept. ſap. * He refuſed not the amity of Kings, (as *Thales* did) particularly, that of *Amaſis*, King of *Ægypt*, who ſent him a victim, commanding him to take from it the beſt and worſt part. *Bias* ſent him the tongue, for which ingenuity, he was much admired.

* Plut. ibid. * Another queſtion of *Amaſis* he reſolved, whilſt he was at *Corinth* (invited thither with the reſt of the wiſe-men by *Periander*) where *Niloxenus* brought him this letter.

Amaſis *King of* Ægypt *ſaith thus to* Bias, *wiſeſt of the Greeks: the King of* Æthiopia *contendeth with me for preheminence in wiſdome; maſter'd in other things, he in concluſion requires an abſurd ſtrange thing, that I drink up the ſea; this propoſition if I reſolve, I ſhall have many of his Townes and Cities; if I reſolve not, I muſt loſe all thoſe which are about* Elephantina. *Ponder it, and ſend* Niloxenus *back with all ſpeed; whatever we can do for your friends and Country, ſhall not be wanting.*

Having read the Letter, *Bias* with a ſhort pauſe, recollecting himſelfe, and having whiſpered to *Cleobubus* who ſat next him. "What (ſaith he) *Naucratites*, *Amaſis*, who commands ſo many "men, and poſſeſſeth ſo excellent a Country, will he, for a few "obſcure contemptible villages, drink up the ſea? *Bias* (ſaith "*Niloxenus* ſmiling) conſider, as if he meant to do it, how it "might be effected. Bid the Æthiopian (replyed *Bias*) withold "the rivers from running into the ſea, untill he hath drunk off "that which is now ſea; for the impoſition concernes that only "which is ſuch at preſent, not what ſhall be hereafter. *Niloxenus* embraced him with joy, the reſt applauding his ſolution.

CHAP.

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CHAP. II.

His morall ſentences, precepts, and verſes.

HIs Apothegmes are thus delivered by *Laertius* and others. *He is unfortunate, who cannot bear misfortune. It is a diſeaſe of the mind to deſire ſuch things as cannot be obtained, and to be unmindfull of the miſeries of others. To one that asked what is hard, he anſwered, to bear courageouſly a change to the worſe. Being at ſea in company with wicked, who, a ſtorm ariſing, called upon the Gods; hold your peace, ſaith he, leſt they know you are here. To a wicked man enquiring what was piety, he was ſilent, the other asking the reaſon of his ſilence: I anſwer not, ſaith he, becauſe you enquire after that which nothing concernes you. Being demanded what is ſweet to mankind, he anſwered, Hope. It is better to decide a difference betwixt our enemies then friends, for one of the friends will certainly become an enemie, one of the enemies, a friend. Being asked what a man did with delight, he anſwered, gain by labour. We ſhould ſo live, as though our life would be both long and ſhort. So love, as if hereafter we might hate, converſing in friendſhip with caution, remembring that it may poſſibly convert to enmity.*

* *To one demanding whether he ſhould take a wife; ſhe muſt be (ſaith he) either fair or foul: if fair, ſhe will be common, if foule, a pennance.* * *Agel. 5. 11.*

* *That Tyrant ſhall gain moſt glory, who firſt himſelfe obeyes the lawes of his country: That common-wealth is beſt ordered, wherein every man fears the Law more then a Tyrant. That family is beſt ordered, where the Maſter behaves himſelfe voluntarily within dores, as he doth without by conſtraint of the Law.* * *Plut.*

* *Thoſe who buſie themſelves in vain knowledge, reſemble an Oule, which ſeeth only in the night, but is blind in the light; ſo is their mind ſharp-ſighted in vanity, dark at the approach of true light.* * *Stob. ſerm. 28*

Auſonius hath theſe under his name.

What is our chiefeſt good? a conſcience free,
Our greateſt ill? mans, mans worſt enemie.
Poor? th'avaritious. Rich? who nought deſires.
A wifes beſt dower? the fame chaſt life acquires.
Chaſt? ſhe of whom report dare ſpeak no ill.
Wiſe? who hath power to hurt, but wants the will.
A fool? who wants the power, and yet would kill.

His morall precepts, according to * *Demetrius Phalereus* theſe. * *Stob ſerm. 18.* * *Laert.*
"Moſt men are evill,. (* His particular ſentence) Before you do "any thing, behold your face in a glaſſe; if it ſeem handſome, "do handſome things; if deformed, ſuply the defects of nature.

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"Practiſe honeſty. Undertake deliberately, but having once "begun, go through. Abhor to ſpeak haſtily. [*Laert.* It is mad-"neſſe] leſt thou ſin, for repentance followes. Be neither ſim-"ple nor ſubtle. Admit not imprudence. Love prudence. Eve-"ry where profeſſe there are Gods. Weigh what is to be done. "Hear much. Speak ſeaſonably. If poor, reprove not the rich, "unleſs great advantage may ariſe thereby. Praiſe not an unwor-"thy perſon for his wealth. Acquire by perſwaſion, not by vi-"olence. When thou doſt good, impute it not to thy ſelfe, but "to the Gods. In thy youth, gain wealth, in thy age wiſdome. "[or as *Laertius*, from thy youth to thy age, gain wiſdome, for "it will be more ſure to thee, then all other poſſeſſions] Pre-"ſerve in thy actions remembrance; in opportunity, caution; "in thy manners, ingenuity; in labour, patience; in fear, wari-"neſſe; in wealth, love; in diſcourſe, perſwaſion; in ſilence, a "decorum; in ſentence, juſtice; in boldneſſe, fortitude; in "action, power; in glory, eminence; in thy nature, generoſity.

* *Laert.* * Of his Ἀφορμαὶ theſe were moſt eſteemed.

To all the City where thou liv'ſt be kind,
They who moſt favour ſhow, moſt favour find:
But pride is often with deſtruction joyn'd.

And

Strength is a gift, which natures hand beſtowes.
Rhetorick and policy the wiſe ſoule knowes,
Riches a preſent that from fortune flowes.

CHAP. III.

His death, and writings.

* *Laert.* * HE was much addicted to pleading, very earneſt therein, but alwaies employed in juſt cauſes; which * *Demodicus* the Alerian implies, ſaying, *If thou chance to be a Judge, give ſentence on the Prienæan ſide*; and *Hipponax, to plead a cauſe better then* Bias *the Prienæan*. And in that manner he died, being very old, as he was pleading, having ended his ſpeech, he repoſed his head in the boſom of his ſiſters ſon; his adverſary having ended his defence; the Judges gave ſentence on *Bias* his ſide; the Court diſmiſt he was found dead in his Nephews boſome: the City beſtowed a magnificent monument upon him, with this inſcription;

* *Laert.* Δημόδικος ὁ Ἀλιεύς: perhaps it ſhould be Ἱππώναξ ὁ Λαμψακηνός.

Bias

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Bias *of* Prienæan *fam'd descent*
Lies here, Ionia's *greatest ornament.*

They also dedicated a Temple to him, called the *Tutamian:*
Laertius bestowes upon him this Epigram.

Bias *lies hidden here, whom* Hermes *lead*
To th'grave, when age had snow'd upon his head.
His head, which (pleading for his friend) enclind
Upon his Nephew to long sleep resign'd.

He writ concerning *Ionia,* by what means it might be most happy (perhaps that counsell already mentioned) two thousand verses.

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CLEOBVEE

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CLEOBVLVS.

CHAP. I.

Cleobulus *his life, death, and writings.*

*CLEOBULUS was of *Lindus*, (a City of *Rhodes*) or according to *Duris*, of *Caria*, son of *Evagoras*, lineally descended from *Hercules*; excellent both in wisdome, outward beauty, and *strength beyond all those of his time; learned in the Philosophy of the Egyptians. That he was Tyrant of *Lindus*, is manifest from *Plutarch*. *He re-edified the Temple of *Minerva*, founded by *Danaus*. * Laert. * Suid. * De ei delph.

He had a daughter *whom he named *Eumetis*, but was called commonly from her father *Cleobalina*: she composed verses and riddles, in Hexameters, famous for her wisdome and acuteneſſe in those riddles, some of her questions having spread as far as *Egypt*, which she used jocularly, like dice upon occasions, only contesting with such as provoked her; she was also indued with an admirable height of mind, and a wit both Politick, and full of humanity, causing her father to govern his people with more mildneſſe. *Cratinus*, also mentions her in a Comedy named from her *Cleobulæ*, often cited by *Athenæus*. * Plut. conviv. sept. sap.

*He died full of years, which extended to seventy, his tomb carried this inscription, * Laert.

Wise Cleobulus *death, the Lindian shore,*
To which his birth was owing, doth deplore.

*He composed Verses and Riddles to the number of three thousand, of which was this Riddle concerning the Year, (by *Suidas* ascribed to his daughter *Cleobulina*.) * Laert.

One sire, twelve sons, from every one a race
Of thirty daughters with a double face:
Their looks are black and white successively;
Immortall they are all, and yet all die.

*Some assert him the Author of this Epigram upon Midas (not Homer, who, as they account, lived long before Midas, though Herodotus otherwise.) * Laert.

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A brazen virgin ſtretcht on Mida's *tomb,*
To laſt whilſt water runs, and Trees ſhall bloom;
whilſt Sun and Moon dart their ſucceſſive beams,
And the rough ſea ſupplied by gentle ſtreams.
I dwell upon this diſmal ſepulcher,
To tell all thoſe that paſſe, Midas *lies here.*

There is likewiſe extant under his name this Epiſtle.

Cleobulus to *Solon.*

"YOu have many friends, and a habitation every where; "but I dare affirme, *Lindus* would be moſt pleaſing to "*Solon*, being governed by a Democracy; an Iſland where there "is no fear of *Piſiſtratus*, thither your friends will come to you "from all parts.

CHAP. II.

His morall ſentences, precepts, and verſes.

* *Laert.* *OF his morall ſayings are theſe. *Employ thy ſelfe in ſomething excellent. Be not vain and ungratefull. Beſtow your daughters, Virgins in years, Matrons in diſcretion: implying, that the Virgins alſo ſhould be inſtructed,* which the Greeks uſed not, the Romans brought them up in the liberall ſciences. *Do good to your friend that he may be more your friend, your enemy that he may become your friend: for we ſhould beware of the calumny of friends, of the treachery of nemies: When any man goeth forth, let him conſider what he is to do, when he returnes, examine what he hath done.*

* *Plut. ſympoſ. ſept. ſap.* **A Prince may be happy, if he truſt none that are about him. That common-wealth is beſt ordered, wherein the Citizens fear reproach more then Law. That family is beſt, wherein more love then fear the Maſter.*

* *Stob. ſerm.* 28 * *Laert.* His precepts thus collected by * *Demetrius Phalereus, A mean is beſt.* (*His particular ſentence) *To reverence thy father is dutie. Take care of thy bodie and ſoul. Hear willingly, but truſt not haſtily.* (or as *Laertius*, 'tis better to love to hear, then to love to ſpeak.) *It is better to know many things,* (*Laertius*, to love knowledge) *then to be ignorant of all. Teach your tongue to ſpeak well. It is proper to vertue, and contrary to vice, to hate injuſtice.* (*Laertius*, be a friend to vertue, a ſtranger to vice.) *Preſerve thy pietie. Adviſe thy country-men what is beſt. Govern thy tongue.* (*Laertius*, pleaſure.) *Do nothing by violence. Inſtruct thy children. Pray to fortune. Forgoe enmitie. The Enemy to thy country, eſteem thy own. Fight not, nor be kind to thy wife in the preſence of others, one argues folly, the other madneſſe. Correct not your ſervants when they are drunk, it ſhowes as if you were drunk your ſelfe.*

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ſelfe. *Marry with your equall, for by matching into a higher family, you procure Maſters, not kinſmen. Laugh not in compliance with him who derides others, for you will be hated by thoſe he derides. Rich, be not exalted; poor, be not dejected:* (*Laertius* addes, learn to bear the changes of fortune.

Auſonius aſcribes theſe to him,

The more is in thy power, deſire the leſſe;
Not to be envi'd is unhappineſſe.
None long in his impieties can thrive,
In others much, nought in thy ſelfe forgive.
All men would ſpare the good, the bad caſt down,
We ſhare not in our anceſtors renown:
But their inglorious actions often own.

Of his δόξαι theſe were moſt noted. * *Laert.*

By ignorence moſt deeds are ſwaid,
In many ſpecious words arraid;
But all things ſhall by time be weigh'd.

PERIANDER

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PERIANDER

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PERIANDER.

CHAP. I.

The Country, Anceſtors, and Parents of Periander.

Periander was ſonne of *Cypſelus* Tyrant of *Corinth*, his mother *Cratea*, his Anceſtors the *Heraclidæ*, (* deſcended from *Hercules* and *Iardana*) raigned Kings of *Lydia* five hundred five yeares, the ſon continually ſucceeding the father for two and twenty generations. The originall of *Cypſelus*, and the manner of his obtaining the Kingdome receive thus from * *Herodotus*. * *Laert.* * *Herod. l. 7.* * *Lib. 5. 92.*

When *Corinth* was governed by an Oligarchy, inhabited by the *Bacchiadæ*, who never would marry out of their own family, one of them (called *Amphion*) had a lame daughter (by name *Labda*), whom when none of the *Bacchiadæ* would take to wife, *Eetion* married (ſon of *Echecrates* of the *Petræan* tribe, but deſcended afar off from *Lapithe* and *Cænis*) having no children, he conſulted the Delphian Oracle about it; as ſoone as he entred, the Propheteſſe ſpake thus to him.

Eetion *none will thee though great reſpect*
A ſtone from Labdas *fruitfull wombe expect,*
Which ſhall the people cruſh, Corinth *correct.*

This Oracle to *Eetion* agreed with another deliver'd to the *Bacchiadæ* (though by them not underſtood) to this effect.

A Lyon by an Eagle ſhall be laid
Upon a rock, fierce, making all afraid.
Corinthians, what I ſay conſider well,
Who in tall Corinth *and* Pirene *dwell.*

The *Bacchiadæ* who could not comprehend the meaning of this Oracle, when they heard that to *Eetion*, underſtood their owne by the affinity it had with the other, and thereupon ſecretly deſign'd amongſt themſelves to kill *Eetions* child. His wife being delivered, they ſent ten men of their owne to the tribe wherein *Eetion* dwelt, that they ſhould murder the Infant; when they came to *Petra* to *Eetions* houſe, they demanded the child. *Labda* (not knowing their intent, but thinking they came

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to congratulate with the Father,) brings her ſonne, and gives him into the hands of one of them: they had agreed (upon the way) that he into whoſe hands the child were delivered ſhould daſh out its braines againſt the ground, but by divine providence, the child ſmiling upon him to whom *Labda* had given it, he was moved therewith to ſuch compaſſion, that he could not finde in his heart to kill it, but delivered it to another, he to a third, untill at laſt it paſt through the hands of all the ten; None of them having power to kill it, they reſtored it to the mother. Then going forth and ſtanding before the doore, they began to finde fault with one another, but chiefly with him who tooke the child firſt, for not performing the agreement; after ſome debate, they agreed to goe in all and bee equall ſharers in the murther; but it was decreed that *Eetions* child ſhould bee the oppreſſour of *Corinth*, for *Labda* ſtanding at the doore heard all their diſcourſe, and fearing leſt their mindes changing, they ſhould murther it, carried away the child, and hid it in a meaſure of corne (called *Cypſela*) a place which ſhe conceived they could never ſearch if they returned, and ſo it fell out: They came back and ſought all about; when they could not finde him, they agreed amongſt themſelves to tell thoſe who ſent them, they had done what they required, and returning home, did ſo. *Eetions* ſon growing up was called *Cypſelus* from the danger he had eſcaped in the corne-meaſure; when he came to mans eſtate, he conſulted with the Delphian Oracle, and received a doubtfull anſwer, in confidence whereof he attempted *Corinth* and tooke it, the Oracle was this,

Happy is Cypſelus, *who to my fane*
This viſit makes; he Corinth's crowne ſhall gain;
He and his Sons (but not their ſons) ſhall raign.

Being poſſeſt of the Kingdome, he perſecuted the *Corinthians*, depriving many of their eſtates, more (by far) of their lives; having reigned thirty yeares, he dyed and was ſucceeded by his Son *Periander*, whoſe reigne compleated this Tyranny, which laſted according to * *Ariſtotle* 73. yeares and ſixe moneths: So that *Cypſelus* began to reigne in the ſecond yeare of the thirtieth Olympiad.

CHAP.

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CHAP. II.

The time of his birth, his raign, and the change of his disposition.

Periander (by computation from his death, which, according to *Laertius* was in the eightieth year of his age, the last of the fortie eight Olympiad) was born in the last year of the twenty ninth Olympiad. His raign (according to *Aristotles account, lasting fortie foure years) begun in the fourth year of the thirty seventh Olympiad. *Suidas* saith, he succeeded in the Kingdome, * as being his fathers eldest son, which *Plutarch* calls, *a disease hereditary to him*, *flourished in the thirtie eight Olympiad.

* Politic. 5.

*Excerpt. Nicol. Damasc. Suid.

* He was at first of a mild gentle disposition, but afterwards grew very rigid upon this occasion. His mother, whilst he was very young, kept him much in her company, when he grew more in years, fell in love with him; with time, her passion encreased to such extremity, that she could no longer suppresse it; assuming confidence, she told her son, there was a beautifull Lady fallen in love with him, and advised him not to slight her affection. He answer'd, he would not transgresse law and vertue, by touching a married woman. His mother pressed him with intreaties; at last he consented; she appointed a night, advising him not to have any light in his chamber, nor to constrain the Lady to speak, but to excuse her for modestie's sake. *Periander* engaged himself to do all she directed. She, attired as richly as she could, went to his chamber, and departed again before day-break: on the morrow she enquired if he were pleased, and if the Lady should come again to him. *Periander* said, it was his chiefest desire, and that he affected her excessively. From that time she visited her son often: he, at last, was moved with a great curiosity to know who she was, and solicited his mother very importunately that he might have some discourse and acquaintance with her, seeing he was so much taken with love of her, affirming it was unreasonable, he should be denyed the sight of one, with whom he had so often a neerer acquaintance. His mother affirm'd it could not be done, in respect to the modesty of the Lady. Hereupon he gave one of his servants order to hide a light in his chamber: she came as she used, and when she was asleep, *Periander* rose, took the light, and seeing it was his mother, was about to have killed her, but with-held by some genius or apparition, forebore: From that time forward he was troubled in mind, grew cruell, and killed many of his subjects. His mother, much accusing her unhappy genius, slew her selfe. *Laertius* saith, they were both conscious hereof,

* Conviv. sept. sap.
* Laert. suid.
* Parthen. eratic. cap. 17.

and

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and that being discovered, he grew cruell to euery one.

* Herod. * In the beginning of his raign, he was much more mercifull then his father, but keeping correspondence by messengers

* Laert. with *Thrasibulus* Tyrant of *Miletus* (* to whom in times past he had been a guest, before he arived to the government) he became at last much more bloody then his father. He sent an expresse to *Thrasibulus*, to know what course he should take to settle himselfe, and to govern the Citty in the best manner. *Thrasibulus* led the messenger out of town, and as they walked together in a corn field, question'd him concerning his comming from *Corinth*, and in the mean time lopped off all the heads of corn that grew higher then the rest, and threw them away; in this manner he went over the whole field, not speaking one word to the messenger, and so sent him home; where being returned, *Periander* greedily enquired what instructions he had brought; he answered, *Thrasibulus* had given him none, and that he wondered he would send him to a mad-man, who destroyed his own goods. *Periander* enquired what *Thrasibulus* did, and immediately apprehended that he advised him to put the most eminent in the City to death. *Laertius* recites a Letter to that effect, which if not, suppositions must have been sent at another time after this messenger departed.

Thrasibulus to *Periander*.

I Gave your messenger no answer, but carying him into a field of Corn, lopped off with my stick such ears as grew higher then the rest, whilst he followed me; if you enquire, he will relate all to you that he hath heard or seen: Do you so likewise, if you mean to settle your selfe in the government, take off the heads of the chiefest Citizens, whether your professed enemies, or others. A Tyrant must suspect every friend.

Though * *Plutarch* deny he followed this advice, *Herodotus*

* Sept. sap. conviv. averres, that from thence forward *Periander* exercised all cruelty upon his subjects, dispatching those that had

* Laert. escaped the rigour and persecutions of his father. *He first ap-

* Suid. pointed a guard of Halberdiers to secure his person, *which consisted of three hundred, and converted the government to a Ty-

* Excert. Nicol. Damascen, and Suidas from him. rannie (* through his cruelty and violence) He forbad the Citizens to keep any servants, or to be idle, alwaies finding some employment for them: If any man sat in the Forum, he was

* Laert. fined, for he feared lest they should plot against him. *The Citizens being desirous to live ἐράσει he would not suffer them,

* Suid. * He was alwaies in war, being of a martiall disposition. He made ships with three banks of Oares, which he used in both

* Laert. seas. *He attempted to dig the Isthmus off from the continent.

* Lib. 1. 20. Of his friendship and correspondence with *Tyrasibulus*, * *Herodotus* gives another instance, affirming he sent to inform him of

of the Oracles answer to *Alyattes* King of *Lydia*, concerning the re-edifying of the Temple of *Minerva*, and advised him to provide before-hand for his own security.

* He made a vow, if he were victor in the chariot-race at the Olympick games, to erect a statue of gold: He chanced to be victorious, and wanting gold, beholding upon a festivall of that country the women richly adorned, he took off all their ornaments, and so sent them home. * Laert.

CHAP. III.

Of his being placed in the number of the seven Sages. His sentences and writings.

Periander (saith * *Plutarch*) being become a Tyrant by a hereditary disease derived to him by his father, endeavoured to purge himselfe thereof as much as possible, by using the sound conversation of good persons, and invited wise-men to come to him; *to which purpose he sent this Epistle to those of *Greece*, at such time as they met at *Delphi*. * Sept. sap. conv. * Laert.

Periander *to the wise-men.*

I Give Pythian *and* Apollo *many thanks that you being met together, there will also by my letters be brought to* Corinth, *I will entertain you as you well know very kindly. I here that last yeer you met at the Lydian Kings in* Sardis: *delay not now to come to me, Tyrant of* Corinth, *for the Corinthians will look kindly upon you, if you come to the house of* Periander.

Upon this invitation they went to him, not seven, but twice as many, of whom was *Diocles*, *Perianders* friend, in whose name *Plutarch* makes a large description of their entertainment, which was not in the City, but at the Port *Lecheon*, in a great hall, appropriated to solemn feasts, joyning to the Temple of *Venus*; to whom he had not sacrificed since the unhappy death of his mother untill that time, the particulars of the feast, by reason of the largeness of the discourse, we referre to *Plutarch*.

He was also himselfe put into the number of these wisemen, who, * *Plutarch* saith, were originally but five, but that afterwards *Cleobulus* Tyrant of *Lindus*, and *Periander* Tyrant of *Corinth*, who had neither vertue nor wisdome, by the greatness of their power, the multitude of their friends, and the obligations they conferred upon those that adhered to them, forced a reputation, and thrust themselves violently into the usurped name of *wise-men*; to which end, they spread abroad sentences and remarkable sayings throughout all *Greec*, the very same * De ei Delph.

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which others had said before, whereat the other first sages were much displeased, yet would not discover or convince their vanity, nor have any publick controversie about that title with persons of so much wealth and power, but meeting together at *Delphi*, after some private debate, they consecrated there the Letter *E* the fift in the Alphabet, and in numeration, to testifie to the God of that Temple they were no more then five, and that they rejected and excluded from their company, the sixt and the seventh, as having no right thereto.

* *Suid.* * Protagor. * *Laert.*

Of those * who excluded him out of the number of the seven, some (as * *Plato*) substitute in his roome *Myso*: * others say there were two of this name, cozens, one the Tyrant, the other of *Ambracia*: but *Aristotle* and others, assert him of *Corinth* to be the wise, which attribute seems conferred upon him, not in respect to his actions, but morall sayings and writings, which were these.

Do nothing for gain, that is proper to trades-men. They who will rule safely, must be guarded with love, not armes. Being demanded why he continued King, because (saith he) it is dangerous willingly to refrain, or unwillingly to be deposed.

* *Plut. sept. sap. conv.*

* When the other six had given their opinions concerning Tyranny (at the feast to which he invited them) he being desired to adde his, answered with a troubled countenance, *Enough hath been said to deterre any man of sound judgment from rule.* When they had in like manner declared their opinions, concerning a common-wealth, he added, *the result of all which had been said, commended that Democracy most, which came neerest an Aristocracy.*

* *Stob. 28:*

* *Being demanded what was the greatest in the least, he answered, a good mind in a human body.*

* *Stob. ibid.* * *Laert:*

His precepts (according to * *Demetrius Phalereus*) were these, *Consideration is all* (* which was his particular sentence) *Quiet is good, temerity dangerous. Gain sordid, the accusation of nature. A democracy is better then a Tyrannie. Pleasures are mortall, vertues immortall. In good fortune be moderate, in bad prudent. It is better to die then to want. Study to be worthy of your Parents. Be praised living, beatified dead. To your friends in prosperity and adversitie be the same. What thou hast promised amisse, perform not.* [*Laert.* Keep thy word.] *Betray not secrets. So reproach, as if thou shouldst ere long be a friend. Use new diet, but old lawes. Punish those who have sinned: restrain those that are about to sin. Conceal thy misfortune that it may not glad thy enemies.*

Ausonius ascribes these to him.

Pleasure and profit never disagree.
As more solicitous, more happy be.
'Tis ill to wish, but worse to fear to die,
With what necessity enjoynes, comply.
If thou art fear'd of many, many fear.

Be

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Be not exalted when thy fortunes cleer,
Nor be dejected if a storm appear.

*He writ two thousand verses of morall instructions. * Laert.

CHAP. IIII.

The Story of Arion.

DUring the feast we mentioned (by *Plutarchs* account) or rather according to *Eusebius*, in the fortieth Olympiad, there happened a strange accident, which (becaus *Herodotus* calls it a miracle shewed to *Periander*) we shall relate in his words.

* *Arion* the most famous Lutinist of that time, having lived a long time with *Periander*, took a voyage to *Italy* and *Sicily*, there having gotten together much wealth, he designed to return to *Corinth*: at *Tarentum* he hired a *Corinthian* vessell, confiding above any in *Corinthians*; they, when they were at Sea, plotted to cast *Arion* over-board, that they might be Masters of his wealth, which he understanding, offered to give them all so they would save his life; they refusing, bad him lay violent hands upon himselfe, if he would be buried in his own Country, otherwise to leap immediately into the sea. *Arion* reduced to this extremity, intreated them to give him leave to put on his richest ornaments, and so standing upon the poop of the ship, to play a tune, promising, assoon as he had done, to deliver himselfe into their hands. The men moved with a great desire to hear the most excellent Lutinist in the world, retired from the poop to the middle of the ship: he puts on his best ornaments, and standing upon the poop, began that tune which they call the morning hymne, assoon as he had ended it, he threw himselfe into the Sea, with his ornaments and Lute; the ship sailed on to *Corinth*. It is reported a Dolphin took him upon his back, and caryed him to *Tænarus*, where he landed, and took shipping again for *Corinth*; he arived there in the same habit, and related all that passed; which *Periander* not beleeving, committed him to close custody, not permitting him to go any whither, and in the mean time sent for the Mariners; when they came, he asked them newes of *Arion*: They answered, he was very well in *Italy*, and that they left him safe at *Tarentum*: immediately *Arion* appeared, attired, as when he he leaped out of the ship, whereat they were so confounded, they could not say any thing in their own defence. This is attested both by the Corinthians and Lesbians. At *Tænarus* there is a little Image given as an offering of a man sitting upon a Dolphins back: that *Periander* caused such a one to be made, is evident from this Epigram of *Bianor*.

* *Lib.* 1. See also Agellius who translates this of Plutarch, Lucian, and others

This

This ſtatue of Arion *ore the main*
Sailing upon a Dolphin's back was carv'd
By Perianders order. *See, men ſlain*
By cruell men, by fiſhes kind preſerv'd.

CHAP. V.

Of his Wife.

* *Laert.* *HIs wife was named *Lyſis*, by him called *Meliſſa*, daughter to *Procleus*, Tyrant of *Epidaurus* and *Eriſthenea*, the daughter of *Ariſtocrates*, by the ſiſter of *Ariſtomedes*, which perſons ruled over the greateſt part of *Arcadia*. * He fell in love with her, ſeeing her in a Peloponneſſian dreſſe, in her petticote, without a gown, giving drink to her fathers workmen: * Long after he kil'd her in his fury, big with child, with a ſtool, or a blow of his foot, being wrought upon by the accuſations of his concubines, whom he afterward burned.

* *Athen. Deipn.*

* *Laert.*

* *Herod. 5.* *He ſent one day to *Threſpotos* upon the River *Acheron*, to enquire by Necromancy concerning a depoſitum. *Meliſſa* appearing, ſaid, ſhe would not tell them in what place it was laid, becauſe ſhe was cold and naked, the clothes wherein ſhe was buried doing her no good, for they were not burned, confirming the truth whereof by *Perianders* puting bread into a cold oven; which anſwer carried to *Periander*, made good the ſuſpition that (* *through exceſſe of love*) νεκρὸς ἐστὶν Μελίσσα ἐμοὶ. Hereupon he cauſed proclamation to be made that all the Corinthian women ſhould come to *Juno's* Temple to celebrate a feſtivall, attyred in their richeſt ornaments, when they came, having placed a guard of ſouldiers in ambuſh, he ſtriped them all, without any diſtinction (free women and ſervants) of their clothes, which he carried to *Meliſſas* grave, and having praid, burn'd them to her: This done, he ſent meſſengers to enquire the ſecond time, to whom *Meliſſa's* Ghoſt appeared, and told them where the depoſitum was laid.

* *Suid.*

CHAP. VI.

Of his Children.

* *Herod. lib. 3. 49.* *HEe had by *Meliſſa* two ſons *Cypſalus* and *Lycophron* the younger ingenious, the elder a foole; he had likewiſe a daughter; his elder ſonne at the time of his mothers death was eighteen yeares old, the younger ſeventeen. Theſe their Grandfather by the mothers ſide *Procleus* (Tyrant of *Epidaurus*) ſent for over to him, and loved them much as in reaſon he ought, being the children of his owne daughter; when he was to ſend them

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them back, he said to them, doe you know children who slew your mother? the elder tooke no heede to that speech, but *Lycophron* the younger was so troubled at it, that when he came to *Corinth*, he neither spoke to his father, nor would make him any answer, looking upon him as the murderer of his mother, whereat *Periander* at length became so incensed, that he turned him out of doores. He being gone, *Periander* questioned the Elder what discourse his Grandfather had with him; hee related to him how kindly he used him, but told nothing of that which *Procleus* had said to them at their departure, for he had not taken any notice of it; *Periander* said, it was not possible but that hee should say something more, and pressed him more strictly; at last he calling it to mind, told him this also, which *Periander* resenting, and not willing to use his son more mildly, sent to the people with whom he lived in his ejection, forbidding them to receive him into any of their houses. Turned out of that wherin he was, he sought to goe into another, but was denied: *Periander* having threatned those that should entertaine him, and commanded all to drive him away: expelled thence, he went to another of his acquaintance, who knowing him the sonne of *Periander* entertained him though with feare: at length *Periander* proclaimed that whosoever received him into their house, or spoke to him, should pay what fine to *Apollo*, he should impose: from that time none durst venture to entertaine him or speake to him; nor would he himselfe make tryall of a thing which he knew to be desperate, but passed his time in the common walkes: Foure dayes after, *Periander* seeing him poore and extenuated with fasting, tooke compassion of him, and laying aside his anger, drew nigh to him and said, "Son which is bet-"ter, to undergoe what you now suffer, or by obeying your "father to enjoy my wealth and kingdome? you being my son "and next heire to the Kingdome of fruitful *Corinth*, have made "choice of the life of a Vagabond, angerly opposing him whom "you ought not to oppose if any unhappinesse befell in those "things whereof you suspect me, it befell me, and I have so "much the greater share therein, in being the instrument "thereof; heare how much better it is to be envied then to bee "pittied, and what it is to be angry with our parents or betters. In these words *Periander* reproved his son, who made him no other answer then "That he ought to pay a fine to the God for "speaking to him. *Periander* perceiving the evill of his sonne to be incurable, removed him out of his sight, and sending him by ship to *Corcyra*, of which he was also Tyrant: having thus disposed of him, he made war with his father in Law *Procleus* as the chiefe cause of all that happened. *Laertius* mentions an Epistle which he sent him to this effect.

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Periander *to* Procleus.

We committed unwillingly that crime upon your Daughter, but you if willingly, you alienate my Sons minde from me, you doe unjustly, therefore either soften his minde towards me, or I shall revenge this injury; I have satisfied your daughter by burning in her honour the garments of all the women of Corinth.

* *Herod. ibid.* * In fine he tooke *Epidaurus* and *Proclus* therein, whom he preserved alive.

* *Herod. ibid.* * In processe of time *Periander* growing old, and knowing himselfe to bee no longer fit for the charge of the commonwealth, sent to *Corcyra* to invite *Lycophron* to the government of the Kingdome; conceiving his eldest son uncapeable of that office by reason of his stupidity. *Lycophron* would not vouchsafe so much as to speake to the messenger. *Periander* (affectionate to him) sent the second time his sons sister, his owne daughter, hoping he would be sooner perswaded by her; shee comming said to him, "Brother, had you rather the Kingdome should "fall into the hands of others, and our fathers house be disper- "sed then goe home and have it your selfe? returne to your "owne house, injure your selfe no longer; obstinacy is an un- "happy inheritance: cure not one evill with another; many "prefer compliance before justice, many in pursuit of their mo- "thers right lose their fathers Kingdome: a Kingdome is a "slippery thing, coveted by many, our father is old and feeble, "give not your owne goods to others: thus she pleaded to him as her father had instructed her; he answered he would never come to *Corinth* whilst his father lived there: which as soone as *Periander* understood, he sent a messenger the third time, to let him know, hee would remove to *Corcyra*, and to command him to come to *Corinth* to take the government upon him; to this the sonne assented. *Periander* prepared for *Corcyra*, his sonne for *Corinth*: the people of *Corcyra* informed hereof, that *Periander* might not come into their country, kill'd his son: in revenge of which fact *Periander* sent three hundred boyes of the chiefe of the *Corcyræans* to *Sardis* to *Allyates* King of *Lydia* there to be guelt, the *Corinthians* who had charge of them, were driven upon *Samos*, the *Samians* understanding to what end they were sent to *Sardis*, advised them to take Sanctuary in the Temple of *Diana*, and would not suffer them as being suppliants to bee pulled away: The *Corinthians* not permitting any food to be given them, the *Samians* celebrated a festivall, which is observed (saith *Herodotus*) at this day; when night was come, the company of youths and maides danced whilst the children were praying, and in their dance having made cakes of meale and honey, flung them amongst the children, whereby they were sustained alive, this they did so long till the *Samians* who had charge of the children

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children, were faine to goe away and leave them; then the *Samians* conveyed the children home to *Corcyra*. *Antenor* and *Dionysius* affirme the *Gnidians* came to *Samos* with a fleet, drove away *Perianders* Guard from the Temple, and carried the children to *Corcyra*; for which reason the *Corcyræans* allowed the *Gnidians* many honours and immunities, which they gave not (even) to the *Samians*. * Plutarch. de malign. Herodot.

CHAP. 7.

His Death.

*EXceſſive melancholy (amidſt theſe croſſes) occaſioned his death, in the laſt yeare of the 48 Olympiad, the eightieth of his age, being deſirous none ſhould know where he was buried, he thus contriv'd it. He commanded two men to goe to a certaine place at night, and to kill whom they firſt met, and bury him. After them he ſent fower to kill & bury the two; after the fower, more: They obeyed his order, the firſt killed him. The *Corinthians* erected for him an empty monument with this inſcription. * Laert.

Periander lies within Corinthian Ground,
For power and wiſedome above all renownd.

Laertius *hath this Epigram upon him.*

At whatſoere ſhall happen be not ſad:
Alike for all that God diſpenſeth glad.
Wiſe Periander did through griefe expire,
Becauſe events not joynd with his deſire.

SOSIADES.

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* Stob. 28.

*SOSIADES

His collection of

The precepts of the seven Sophists.

FOllow God. Obey the law. Worſhip the Gods. Reverence thy Parents. Suffer for juſtice. Underſtand what thou learneſt. Know what thou heareſt. Know thy ſelfe. About to marry, chooſe opportunity. Conſider mortall things. When thou art a gueſt, acknowledge it. Reſpect Hoſpitality. Command thy ſelfe. Relieve thy friends. Govern thy anger. Exerciſe prudence. Honour providence. Uſe not ſwearing. Love friendſhip. Apply thy ſelfe to diſcipline. Purſue glory. Emulate wiſdome. Speak well of that which is good. Diſparage none. Praiſe vertue. Do what is juſt. Be kind to thy friends. Revenge upon thy enemies. Practiſe generoſity. Abſtain from evill. Be generall. Keep what is thine. Refrain from what belongs to others. Speak words of good omen. Hear all things. Gratifie thy friend. Nothing too much. Husband time. Regard the future. Hate injury. Have reſpect to thy ſervants. Inſtruct thy children. If thou haſt ought, gratifie others. Fear deceit. Speak well of all. Be a lover of wiſdome. Judge according to equity. What thou knoweſt, do. Abſtain from blood-ſhed. Wiſh things poſſible. Converſe with the wiſe. Examin wits. What thou haſt received, reſtore. Diſtruſt none. Make uſe of art. Defer not what thou intendeſt to give. Eſteem benefits. Envy none. Guard thy ſelfe. Approve hope. Hate calumny. Poſſeſſe juſtly. Reverence the good. Acknowledge thy Judge. Be moderate in wedlock. Reſpect fortune. Fly engagements for any. Converſe with all. Make uſe of thy like. Regulate ſumptuouſneſſe. Enjoy what thou poſſeſſeſt. Exerciſe modeſty. Return benefits. Pray for proſperity. Love fortune. Hearing, ſee. Aim at things that may be acquired. Hate diſſention. Abhor reproach. Curb thy tongue. Repell injury. Determine equally. Make uſe of thy wealth. Examine without corruption. Blame the preſent. Speak knowing. Uſe no violence. Live pleaſantly. Converſe mildly. Go through thy undertakings fearleſſe. Be benign to all. Confide not in thy children. Govern thy tongue. Do well to thy ſelfe. Be affable. Anſwer ſeaſonably. Labour with equity. Do that whereof thou ſhalt not repent. When thou haſt ſinned, be penitent. Confine thy eye. Counſell profitably. Perfect quickly. Preſerve amity. Be gratefull. Obſerve concord. Declare no ſecret. Fear what is more powerfull. Purſue what is profitable. Wait for opportunity. Diſſolve enmities. Expect age. Boaſt not of ſtrength. Uſe to ſpeak well. Fly hatred.

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Poſſeſſe wealth juſtly. Forſake not glory. Hate malice. Be not weary of learning. Hazard thy ſelfe prudently. What thou joyeſt in, quit not. Admire Oracles. Love thoſe thou maintaineſt. Blame not the abſent. Reverence thy elders. Teach thoſe that are younger. Confide not in wealth. Stand in awe of thy ſelfe. Begin no injury. Crown thy Anceſtors. Die for thy country. Oppugne not life. Deride not the dead. Condole with the unhappy. Gratifie without damage. Be not troubled upon every occaſion. Let thy children be by a free-woman. Promiſe none. Wrong not the dead. Suffer as mortall. Truſt not fortune. Be in childhood modeſt, in youth temperate, in manhood juſt, in old age prudent. Die untroubled.

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AUSONII LUDUS
ſeptem Sapientum.

The Prologue.

THe ſeven wiſe-men, (that name times paſt apply'd
To them, nor hath poſteritie deny'd)
Themſelves this day unto your view preſent.
Why doſt thou bluſh Gown'd Roman? diſcontent
That ſuch grave men ſhould on the ſtage be brought!
Is't ſhame to us? 'twas none to *Athens* thought:
Whoſe Councell-Chamber was their Theater.
True; here for buſineſſe ſeverall places are
Aſſign'd, the Cirque for meetings, Courts to take
Enrolements, Forums in which pleas to make:
But in old *Athens*, and all *Greece* was known
No other place for buſineſſe but this one. [*viz. the Theater*
Which latter Luxury in *Rome* did raiſe.
The Ædile heretofore did build for plaies
A Scaffold-ſtage, no work of Carved ſtone;
So *Gallius* and *Murena*, 'tis well known.
But after, when great Men not ſparing Coſt,
Thought it the higheſt glory they could boaſt,
To build for Playes a Scene more eminent,
The Theater grew to this vaſt extent;
Which *Pompey*, *Balbus*, *Cæſar* did enlarge;
Vying which ſhould exceed for ſtate and charge.
But to what end all this? we came not here
To tell you who firſt built the Theater,
Forum, or City Gates, but t'uſher in
Grave ſages, who by Gods approv'd have been.
Such as in pleaſing and inſtructive verſe,
Their own judicious ſentences rehearſe,
Known to the learned, and perhaps to you:
But if your Me m'ries cannot well renue
Things ſpoke ſo long ſince; the Comedian ſhall,
Who better then I knowes them, tell you all.

Enter

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Enter Comedian.

A Thenian *Solon*, Fame ſings, wrot at *Delphis*
Γνῶθι σαυτὸν; whoſe ſenſe *Know thy ſelfe*, is:
But this to Spartan *Chilon* moſt aſſign.
Some queſtion *Chilon*, whether this be thine,
Τελὸς δὲ μακρῆ βίᾳ, *The cloſe*
Of a long life regard: but moſt ſuppoſe
That *Solon* this to Lydian *Cræſus* ſpake.
From Lesbian *Pittacus* this motto take,
Γίγνωσκε καιρόν; that's *Know time:* But he
By καιρὸν here means *opportunity.*
Οἱ πλεῖστοι κακοὶ, *Bias*, did proceed
From thee; that is, *Moſt men are ill.* Take heed
You not miſtake him; for by ill men here
He means the ignorant: The next you hear
Is *Periander's* Μελέτη τὰ πάντα;
That is, *Thought's All in All*; a Thoughtfull Man!
But Lyndian *Cleobulus* does proteſt
Μέτρον; *Mean in All is beſt.*
Thales, ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτη cries.
Upon a Surety preſent damage lies.
But this, for thoſe who gain by it, to tell,
May'chance diſpleaſe: Now *Solon* comes farewell. *Exit.*

Enter Solon.

LO! *Solon* in his Greeks dreſſe treads the ſtage,
To whom (as of the ſeven the greateſt Sage)
Fame gave the prize of wiſdome from the reſt;
But fame is not of Cenſure the ſtrict Teſt.
Nor firſt nor laſt I take my ſelfe to be,
For there's no order in Equalitie.
Well did the *Delphick* Prophet ſport with him
Who ask'd, which firſt of the Wiſe-men might ſeem,
Saying; if on a Globe their names he writ,
None firſt or loweſt he ſhould find in it.
From midſt of that learn'd Round come I; that ſo
What once I ſpake to *Cræſus*, All here now
Might take as ſpoken to themſelves; 'tis this:
Ὅρα τὸ Τελὸς μακρῆ βίᾳ which is,
Mark the end of a long life; *till when* forbear
To ſay, theſe wretched, or thoſe happy are:
For All *till* then are in a doubtfull ſtate,
The proofe of this wee'l in few words relate.

Cræſus

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Crœsus the King or Tyrant (choose you which)
Of *Lydia*, happy thought, and strangely rich;
Who to his Gods did gold-wall'd Temples build,
Invites me ore, I to his summons yeeld.
His royall summons went to *Lydia*,
Willing his subjects by our means might find
Their King improv'd, and better'd in his mind.
He asks me whom I thought the happiest Man?
I said *Telana*, the Athenian,
Who his life nobly for his Country gave;
He pishes at it, will another have.
I told him then *Aglaus*, who the Bounds
Nere past in all his life of his own grounds.
Smiling, he saies, what think you then of Me
Esteem'd the happyest in the whole world? We
Reply'd, his End could only make that known,
He takes this ill: I, willing to be gon,
Kisse his hand, and so leave him: For some ends
Meantime, 'gainst *Persia* he a war intends;
And all things ready, does in person go.
How speeds? he's vanquish'd, Prisoner to his foe,
And ready now to yeeld his lateſt breath,
(For by the Victor he was doom'd to death)
Upon the funerall Pile, rounded with Flames
And smoake, he thus with a loud voice exclaimes,
O *Solon! Solon!* now I plainly see
Th'art a true Prophet! Thrice thus naming me
Mov'd with which words, *Cyrus*, (the Conquerour)
Commands the Fire be quencht, which, by a shower
Of Rain then falling, happily was laid.
Thence to the King, by a choice Guard convay'd,
And question'd who, that *Solon* was? and why
He call'd so on his Name? He, for reply,
In Order all declares: Pitty at this
The Heart of *Cyrus* moves; and *Crœsus* is
Receiv'd to grace, who in a Princely Port
Liv'd after, honor'd in the Persian Court.
Both Kings approv'd, and prais'd Me, but what I
Said then to one, let each man here apply
As spoke t'himselfe, 'twas for that end I came.
Farewell: your liking let your hands proclaim. [*Exit.*

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Enter Chilon.

MY Hips with ſitting, Eyes with ſeeing akr,
Expecting when *Solon* an End would make.
How little and how long your Atticks prate!
Scarce in three-hundred lines one word of weight,
Or a grave ſentence, how he lookt on me
At going off? ---Now Spartan *Chilon* ſee!
Who with Laconian Brevity commends
To you *the Knowledge of your ſelves*, kind Friends!
Γνῶθι σεαυτὸν carv'd in a Delphos Fane.
'Tis a hard Work, but recompenc'd with Gain.
Try your own ſtrength; examine what 'tis you
Have done already, what you ought to do.
All Duties of our life, as Modeſtie,
Honour and Conſtancie included be
In this, and glory, which we yet deſpiſe.
Farewell, your claps I not reſpect nor prize. [*Exit.*

Enter Cleobulus.

I *Cleobulus*, though my Native Seat
Be a ſmall Iſle, am Author of a great
And glorious Sentence; Μέτρον ἄριστον;
A man is beſt: You Sirs that ſit upon
The fourteen middle Benches next unto
Th'*Orcheſtra*, beſt may judge if this be true.
Your Nodd ſhowes your aſſent: We thank you; but
We ſhall proceed in Order: Was it not
One Afer (who a man of your own Clime is)
That ſaid once in this place, *Ut ne quid Nimis?*
And hither does our Μηδὲν ἄγαν aime.
The Dorick and the Latine mean the ſame.
In ſpeaking being ſilent, or in ſleep,
In good Turns, or in bad, a mean ſtill keep,
In ſtudy, or what ever you intend.
I've ſaid, and that I mean, I keep here end. [*Exit.*

Enter Thales.

I'M *Thales*, who maintain (as *Pindar* ſings)
Water to be the beſt and firſt of things.
To whom by Phœbus *Mandate, fiſhers brought*
A golden Tripod, which they fiſhing caught,
By him as preſent to the wiſeſt meant,
Which I refus'd, and unto others ſent

In

In knowledge my ſuperiors as I thought.
From one to th'other of the Sages brought
By them again return'd, to me it came;
Who to *Apollo* conſecrate the ſame.
For Since to ſeek the wiſeſt, he enjoyn'd,
I Judge no man but God by that deſign'd.
Now on the ſtage (as thoſe before) I come
T'aſſert the truth of my own Axiom.
Perhaps by ſome t'may be offenſive thought:
But not by thoſe by ſad experience taught.
Ἔγγυα πάρα δ' ἄτη, ſay we.
Be Surety, and be ſure a loſer be.
A thouſand Inſtances I could produce
To prove Repentance is the only uſe
That can be made of it, but that we here
Examples by their Names to cite, forbear.
Make your own Application, and conceive
The Damage, Men by this ſole act receive.
Nor this our good intention take amiſſe,
You that like, clap, you that diſlike it, hiſſe.

Enter Bias.

I Am *Prienean Bias*, who once taught
Οἱ πλεῖστοι κακοί, *That moſt men are naught.*
I wiſh't had been unſpoke; for Truth gains Hate.
But by bad men I mean illiterate,
And thoſe who barbarouſly all Lawes confound,
Religion, Juſtice; for within this Round
I ſee none but are good: believe all thoſe
Whom I proclaim for bad amongſt your Foes:
Yet there is none ſo partially apply'd
To favour Vice, but with the good will ſide:
Whether he truly be ſuch, or would fain
Of a good man the Reputation gain:
The hated name of an ill man all ſhun.
Then (*moſt good Men*) your praiſe, and I ha' done.

Enter Pittacus.

I'M *Pittacus*, who once this Maxime penn'd,
Γίγνωσκε καιρόν That's, *time apprehend.*
But by Time we meant Time in Seaſon, as
In tempore veni is your *Roman* Phraſe.
And your own Comick Poet *Terence*, he,
Chief of all things makes opportunity,
Where *Dromo* comes unto *Antiphila*.

I'th

I'th nick of Time; consider what I say,
And mark how great an inconvenience
Most suffer through this want of providence.
But now 'tis more then time we should be gon;
Farewell, and give your Aprobation. [*Exit.*

Enter Periander.

NOw on the Stage see *Periander* move!
He who once said, and what he said will prove
Μελέτη τὸ πᾶν. *Thought is all in all.*
Since him a perfect Agent we may call,
Who first considers what he undergoes;
For we should still forecast, as *Terence* shows,
Th'event of businesse, whether good or bad,
E'r w'undertake it: where may best be had
Conveniency for planting, where to build,
When to wage War, and when to pitch a Field:
Nor inconsiderately take in hand
Or great, or small Things, for that makes a stand
In the free progresse of all new designes;
In which there's nothing policy enjoynes
Like consultation; hence we see it cleer,
Who use it not, by chance, not counsell steer,
But I retire, whilst you with better Fate
Imploy your Thoughts how to uphold your State:

ANACHAR-

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ANACHARSIS.

CHAP. I.

Anacharsis his life and writings.

THose Nations (saith* *Herodotus*) *which border upon the Euxine Sea, are of all most illiterate, the Scythians onely excepted; we can alledge nothing relating to learning of any people within the compass of that Sea, neither know we any person learned but the* Scythians Anacharsis; * *Amongst these*, notwithstanding the roughnesse of their education, (for *they fed upon mares milke and dwelt in wagons*) *were some who far exceeded all in justice.*

* *Lib.* 4. 46.

* *Strab. lib.* 7.

Such was *Anacharsis*, *son of *Gnurus* brother of *Cadoxides* King of *Scythia*; *his mother a Grecian, by which meanes he had the advantage of two languages*, but was owner of no other house then the custome of that country allow'd, a Chariot, whence* he compared his dwelling to that of the sun, carri'd in that manner round the heavens.

* *Laert.*

* *Plut. conviv. sept. sap.*

* The *Scythians* never travell beyond their own confines, but *Anacharsis* as a person endued with more then ordinary wisedome extended his journey further, * being sent by the King of *Scythia* to *Greece*, * He came to *Athens* in the first yeare of the 47. Olympiad, *Eucrates* being Archon: and * first met with *Toxaris* one of his owne country, by whom, as the most compendious way to take a survey of *Athens* and *Greece*, he was addrest to *Solon*: how *Solon* received and entertained him is already related in his life: he instructed him in the best disciplines, recommended him to the favour of noblest persons, and sought all means of giving him respect and honour: *Anacharsis* admired his wisdome, continually followed him, in a short space learnt all things of him, and was kindly received by every one for his sake; being (as *Theoxenus* attests) the only stranger whom they incorporated into their City.

* *Elian. var. hist. lib.* 5.

* *Herod.* 4. 46.

* *Laert.*

* *Lucian. Scyth.*

* Thus was he much honoured by the Grecians for his perfection, wisdome, temperance, wherein he excelled many of their Philosophers, whereupon they conferred the attribute of wise upon him, some accompting him one of the seven: *Periander* invited him with the rest to *Corinth*; the feast is largely described by *Plutarch*: There *Anacharsis* carrying with him Chaplets of Flowers, Ivy, and Laurell, drunk, as the Scythians use, to great

* *Strab. lib.* 7.

* *Clem. Alex. Strom.* 1.

* *Clem. Alex. Strom.* 5.

* *Elian. lib.* 2.

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* Athen. deipn. 10. exceſſe, * and required the prize of drinking to be given him, becauſe he was firſt drunk: *In a race* (ſaith he) *he wins, who comes firſt at the Poſt, in drinking, he who comes firſt to the end deſerves the reward.*

* Herod. 4. 76. **Having ſeen much of the world, and improved his knowledge, he returned to* Scythia (as *Lucian* conjectures, not untill *Solon* were dead) *As he ſailed along the* Helleſpont, *he put in at* Cyricum, *and finding the people celebrating a feſtivall to the Mother of the Gods, with much ſplendor and munificence; he made a vow, if he got ſafe home, to ſacrifice in the ſame manner as he had ſeen thoſe of* Cyricum, *and to inſtitute a Vigill. When he came into* Scythia, *he withdrew himſelfe privately to* Hylæa, *near the Achillean courſe, a place abounding with Trees, and performed the Rites of the Goddeſſe with a Timbrell* (*and Cymball* * *about his Neck*) *A Scythian eſpying him, carried word to* Saulius *the King, who went immediately thither, and being an eye-witneſſe thereof, ſhot him through with an Arrow* (* *to puniſh his effeminacy, and prevent the infection thereof in others*) * *And now if any enquire concerning* Anacharſis, *the Scythians deny they knew him, becauſe he travelled into* Greece, *and affected the cuſtomes of that Country. As I am informed by* Timnes, *tutor of* Spargapithes, *he was uncle to* Indathyrſus, *King of* Scythia, *ſon of* Gnurus, *ſon of* Lycus, *ſon of* Spargapithes: *Now* Anacharſis *being of this family, it is manifeſt he was* **ſlain by his brother*, (that his brother was King of *Scythia*, and ſlew him, is confirmed by *Laertius*, though he differ in the name) *for* Indathyrſus *was ſon of* Saulius, Saulius *was he who ſlew* Anacharſis, and conſequently is the ſame whom *Laertius* calls *Caduides*, adding, *ſome report that he ſhot him in hunting; for being addicted to the Greek cuſtomes, and endeavouring to alter the lawes of Scythia; whereupon he dying, ſaid, he returned ſafe out of* Greece, *guarded by his own wiſdome, but was ſlain at home by the envy of others.* Upon him *Laertius* hath this Epigram,

* For ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φών. read ἀδελφοῦ. Spargapithes. I. Lycus. I. Gnurus. I. Anacharſis. Saulius, or Caduida. I. Indathyrſus.

From travell Anacharſis *came at laſt,*
And Scythia *in a Grecian mould would caſt:*
Whilſt he was teaching how, by the ſurprize
Of a wing'd arrow carried to the skies.

* Laert. Plut. conviv. ſept. ſap. *There were many ſtatues erected in honour of him by the Grecians, upon which was writ, Γνῶσις, γεραιὸς δαιδάλου κρέσσων *He was temperate and skilfull in many things; he freely and largely diſcourſed of the manner of diet & medicine, which the Scythians

* Laert. uſed in curing the ſick. *From the plain freedome he uſed in ſpeech, aroſe a Proverb, *The Scythian phraſe.* He writ eight hundred verſes of orders for the Scythians and Greeks, concerning frugall living, and martiall affairs. There are alſo two Epiſtles of his extant.

Ana-

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Anacharsis to Crœsus.

KIng of the Lydians, I came into Greece to be informed of their manners and studies; I need not money, it is enough if I can return into Scythia bettered: but I will come to Sardys, because I highly esteem your favour.

* Anacharsis to Hanno, health.

* Cic. Tuscul. quæst. 5.

* MY apparell is a Scythian rug, my shooes the hardnesse of my feet, my bed, the earth, my sauce hunger; I feed on milk, cheese, and flesh: you may come to me as to one that's contented: but those gifts which you so much esteem, bestow either on your Citizens, or the immortall Gods.

* He is said to have invented tinder, * the anchor, and the Potters wheele; but this latter is by *Strabo* evinc'd cleerly to be false, because mentioned by *Homer*, who lived long before him, *Anacharsis* being in the time of *Crœsus*.

* Clem: Alex. cites this fragment, doubtlesse out of the same Epistle, * Ἐμοὶ σκεῦος μὲν τὸ δέρμα, χλαῖνα δ' ὁ τρίβων, γάλα, τυρός. Strom. 1.
* Strab. lib. 7.
* Laert. Suid.
* Suidas.

CHAP. II.

His Apophthegmes.

HIs apothegmes are these, * *He said a vine bare three grapes, the first of pleasure, the second of drunkennesse, the third of repentance. He wondered, that amongst the Greeks, Artists contended, and they who were no Artists determined. Being demanded by what meanes a man might be brought not to love wine, he said, by setting before his eyes the unseemly actions of drunken persons. He wondered the Grecians who punished injuries by law, rewarded the Athletæ at publick exercises for beating one another. Being told a ship is four inches thick, so far from death said he are they who sail. He said oile was a receipt procuring madnesse, because the Athletæ, the more they were annointed therewith, the more fierce they were against one another. How comes it, said he, that they who forbid lying, themselves lye openly, when they put off their wares?* He wondered that *the Greeks in the beginning of a feast drunk in little cups, and when they were full in great.* * *Being demanded* (*by* Ardalus) *whether there were any Flutes in* Scythia, *he answered, not so much as vines* (which * *Aristotle* calls a demonstration *oti*, by the remote cause) * Ardalus *adding, are there not Gods amongst the Scythians? yes, replyed he, which understand all languages.* * *Being asked what ship was safest, he answered, that which is in the Haven. He affirm'd the most remarkable thing he had seen among the Grecians to be this, that they left the smoak upon the mountains, and carried the wood into their Cities.' Being demanded whether the number of the dead or of the living were greatest, amongst which, saith he, do you account those who are at sea? To an Athenian, who reproached him for being a Scythian, my country,* (*saith*

* Laert.
* Plut. conviv. sept. sap. Strab. 15.
* Analyt. post. 1. 13.
* Plut. conviv. sept. sap.
* Laert.

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(saith he) is a disgrace to me, but you are a disgrace to your country. Being demanded what in man is both good and bad, he answered the tongue. He affirm'd it is better to have one friend worth much, then many worth nothing. He said the Forum was the proper place for cheating and unjust gain. To a young man who reproached him at a feast; youth, saith he, if at these yeeres you cannot bear wine, when you grow old, you will not be able to bear water.

* Herod. 4. 46. * When he returned to Scythia, he told the King who sent him, the Greeks were busied in all kinds of wisdome, except the Lacedæmonians, who only knew how to give and receive prudently.

* He said the Greeks made no other use of mony but to accompt with it.

* Plut. de profess. virtut. sent. * Plut. vit. Sol. * At a publick assembly in Athens, he said, he wondered, why in the Greek convocations, wise men propounded businesse, and fooles determined it.

* That Prince is happy who is wise. That City is best, wherein (all things else being equall) vertue hath the better condition, vice the worse.

* Plut. conv. sept. sap. * To one who, as they were drinking, said, beholding his wife, Anacharsis, you have married one who is nothing handsome: I am (answered he) of that opinion also; but put less water in my wine, that I may make her handsome.

* Stob. serm. 16. Relating the qualities of the Vine to the King of Scythia, and showing him some slips thereof, he added, and by this time it would have reached into Scythia, if the Greeks did not every yeer cut off its branches.

Athen. deipn. lib. 10. * At a feast, such being sent for, as might procure mirth, he alone smiled not; afterwards, an Ape being brought in, he laughed, saying, that beast is ridiculous by nature, man by art and study.

* Athen. deipn. lib. 10. * Athen. deipn. lib. 14. * Clem. Alex. strom. lib. 5. * Clem. strom. 1. Whilst he slept, he used ἀντέχειν τῇ μὲν γαστρὶ τὰ ἀκόλαστα· τῇ δὲ γλώσσῃ δὲ τὸ σῶφρον, implying, that a man ought to take great care to govern both, but that it is harder to restrain our pleasure then our tongue. He said that to him all the Grecians were Scythians.

MYSON.

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MYSON.

MYSON was (according to *Hermippus*) son of *Stremon*, born at *Chene*, a Village either of *Oetæa*, or *Lacedæmonia*, his father A Tyrant. *Anacharsis* demanding of the Oracle, if any were wiser, was answered (as was in the life of *Thales* mentioned of *Chilon*) * Laert.

Oetæan Myson *I declare*
Wiser then those who wisest are.

His curiosity encreasing by this answer, he went to the village, and finding him fitting a plow-share to the plow, said, *Myso*, it is not yet time to plow: But it is (answered he) to prepare. Others affirme the Oracle called him *Etean*, about which there is much difference: *Parmenides* saith, that *Etea* is a Lacedæmonian Village, whereof *Myson* was. *Soſicrates*, that he was *Oetæan* by his father, *Chenean* by his mother. *Euthyphron*, that he was a Cretan, *Etea* a City of *Creet*. *Anaxilaus* an Arcadian. *Hipponax* mentions him in these words, *And* Myso, *whom* Apollo *declared wiseſt of all men*. *Ariſtomenus* affirmes, he was of the same humor as *Timon* and *Apemantus*, a Man-hater. He retired from *Lacedæmon* into the desert, and was there surprized all alone, smiling; being demanded why he smiled, no man being present, he answered, for that reason. *Ariſtoxenus* saith, he was of no account, because not of the City, but of an obscure village; whence some ascribe his sayings to *Piſiſtratus*, but others reckon him one of the seaven; *Plato* puts him in the room of *Periander*. he said, *we muſt not seek things from words, but words from things; things were not made for words, but words for things*. He dyed 97. yeers old.

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EPIMENIDES.

Epimenides is by all acknowledged a *Cretan* (though contrary to the cuſtome of that place he wore long haire;) but in the Town where he was borne they agree not. *Laertius* following the greater part of writers ſaith it was * *Cnoſsus*, *Strabo*, *Phæſtus*. There is no leſſe difference about the names of his *Parents*; ſome call his father *Phæſtius*, or *Phæſtus*, others *Doſiades*, his Mother *Blaſta*, others *Agaſiarchus*; *Apollonius*, *Bolus*, *Laertius*, and *Suidas*, name *Plutarch** *Balta*, a ſuppoſed Nymph.

* *Val. Max.* 8. 13.

* *One of theſe names perhaps is corrupt.*

It is reported, that when he was a youth, being ſent by his father and brethren to their field to fetch home a ſheep to the City, tir'd with the heat and travell in ſearch thereof, he withdrew himſelfe at noon (or as *Apollonius*, at night) from the common way into a private Cave, where he ſlept (according to * *Theopompus* fiftie ſeven years, according to * *Varro*, * *Plutarch*, and * *Tertullian*, fiftie, * *Pauſanas* fortie, in which intervall of time, moſt of his kindred died; at the end hereof awaking, he betook himſelfe again to the ſearch of his ſheep, thinking it the ſame, or the next day to that wherein he lay down, and that he had ſlept but a little while; not finding it, he returned to the field where he ſaw all things changed, and a ſtranger in poſſeſſion thereof: thence to the City much amazed; going into his own houſe, they queſtion'd who he was; at laſt he met with his younger brother, now grown old, by whom he was informed of all that paſſed, and the time of his abſence. *Plutarch* ſaith, he waked an old man; * *Plin.* and *Laertius*, that he grew old in as many daies as he had ſlept yeers: * ſome affirme he ſlept not, but retired a while, employing himſelfe in cutting up roots.

* *Apolion. hiſt. com. cap.* 1. *Plin.* 7. 52. *Laert.* * *De ling. lat.* 6. * *An ſenſi ſit gerenda reſp.* * *de anima.* 46. * *Attic. the number in Suidas ſeems falſe, as alſo in the Vatican appendix of adages; one hath* 6. *the other* 7. * *Plin.* 7. 52. * *Laert. Suid.*

Many (other) wonders are reported of him; * ſome ſay, he received food of the Nymphs, which he kept in an Oxes hoofe, and took thereof a little every day, requiring no other ſuſtenance, never being ſeen to eat: * he often counterfeited reſurrection from death to life; his * ſoule going out of his body whenſoever he pleaſed, and returning again.

* *Apollon.* * *Laert.* * *Laert.* * *Suid.*

* He is reported the firſt that luſtrated houſes and fields, * which he performed by verſe. To this end the Athenians in the fortie ſixt Olympiad, viſited with a Plague, and commanded by the Oracle to luſtrate the City, ſent *Nicias*, ſon of *Nicerates*

* *Laert.* * *Strab.*

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natus with a ship to *Creet*, to desire *Epimenides* to come to them, which he did, and there contracted acquaintance with *Solon*, whom he privately instructed, setting him in the way of making Lawes. He reduced the divine rites to a lesser charge; he moderated the mournings of the Citizens, he added some sacrifices to the ceremonies of funeralls, taking away barbarous customes which the women used upon those occasions: and (which was of greatest concernment) by propitiations, procurations, and offerings, he lustrated and expiated the City, rendring the people more obsequious to justice and unity, *and staied the Pestilence in this manner: He took sheep, black and white, and brought them into the Areopagus; there he let them loose, to go whither they would, giving order to those who followed them, that whensoever any of them lay down, they should sacrifice in that place to the proper Deitie, whereby the Plague ceased. Hence it is, that at this day, (saith *Laertius*) are to be seen in many Athenian Villages, nameless Altars, monuments of that expiation. Some affirm he imputed it to the Cylonian impiety (of which already in the life of *Solon*) and asswaged it, by putting to death two young men, *Cratinus* and *Cteſibius*. * Laert.

* He is supposed first to have built Temples; one he erected in *Athens* to the Eumenides; another he intended to consecrate to the Nymphs, but a voice from Heaven was heard in these words, Epimenides, *not to the Nymphs, but to* Jupiter. * Laert.

* Beholding the haven *Munychia*, he said to those who stood by, how blind is man to the future! The Athenians would tear this haven in pieces with their teeth, if they foresaw how much it will infest the City: This he foretold many yeeres before it came to passe, which was in the second yeer of the 114 Olympiad, when *Antipater* put a garison of Macedonians into the *Munychia*. * Plut. vit. Sol.

The Athenians being affraid of the Persian Navy, he told them, it would not invade them for many yeers, and when it did, the Persians should not effect the least of their hopes, but depart home with greater losse to themselves then they had given their adversaries: which was fulfilled in the fights at *Marathon* and *Salamis*.

He foretold the Lacedæmonians, (and Cretans also) the overthrow they should receive by the Arcadians, which happened when *Euricrates* and *Archidamus* raigned in *Lacademon*.

These predictions (for which the * Grecians esteemed him (* divine) beloved of the Gods, * & put him in the number of their Sophists; the * Cretans, (whose Prophet he is stiled by *Saint *Paul*) sacrificed to him as a God) were either not known, or not credited by *Aristotle*, who averres, he used not to Prophecy of future things, but only such as were past and obscure. * Laert. * Plat. * Plut. Sol. * Laert. * Tit. 1.

For

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For his luſtration of the City and other things he was much honoured by the Athenians who offered him many gifts, would have rewarded him with a Talent, and appointed a ſhip to tranſport him back to *Creet*: he refuſed their gift and money, nor would accept of any thing but a little branch of ſacred Olive, out of the Tower, wherewith (having procured a league betwixt the Cnoſſians and Athenians) he returned home; and ſoon after died * 157. years old, or according to * others 150. the Cretans ſay he wanted but one of 300. *Xenophanes* affirmes he heard him when he was 154 years of age. His body the Lacedemonians kept by direction of the Oracle. It was taken up many years after, marked all over with Characters, whence aroſe a proverb, concerning abſtruſe things, *the skin of* Epimenides; He called himſelf *Æacus*, others named him *Cures*.

* *Laert. citing Phlegon; Plin.* 1.52.

* *Apollon Hiſt. com.* 1. *citing Phlegon. Suid.*

He was a great * Poet, and writ many things in verſe; the ſubjects of his writings were theſe,

* *Suid.*

Initations, Luſtrations, and other obſcure matters in verſe.

The generation and Theogony of the Curetes and Corybantes, 5000. verſes.

The building of Argo, *and expedition of* Jaſon *to* Golchos, 6500. verſes.

Of ſacrifices, in proſe

Of the Cretan Common-wealth.

Of Minos *and* Rhadamanthus.

* *Of Oracles and reſponſes*, out of which Saint *Paul* cites this verſe.

* *D. Hieronym. in Epiſtol. ad Titam. ſee the place.*

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.

The Cretans are alwaies liers, evill beaſts, ſlow bellies.

* *Tit.* 11 2.

There is extant under his name (ſaith *Laertius*) an Epiſtle to *Solon* concerning the orders of Government given by *Minos* to the Cretans: which *Demetrius* conceives of later date, not written in the Cretan but Athenian language; but I have met with another to this effect;

Epimenides *to* Solon.

Be of comfort friend; for if Piſitratus *were ruler of Athenians, inured to ſervitude and void of diſcipline, his way perhaps might continue for ever. But now he ſubjects not baſe people, but ſuch as are mindfull of* Solons *inſtructions, who aſhamed of their bondage will not brook his Tyranny. And though he ſhould ſettle himſelf in the government unmoveable, yet I hope it will not devolve to his children; for it is hard for free perſons, brought up under excellent laws, to ſuffer bondage. As for you, wander not, but come to* Creet *to me, where you will find no oppreſſive Monarch. If in travailing up and down you ſhould light upon ſome of his friends, I fear you may ſuffer ſome miſchief.*

* *Laert.*

* There were two more of this name, one a Genealogiſt: the other writ in the Dorick dialect concerning *Rhodes*.

PHE-

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PHERECYDES.

Herecydes was of *Syrus* (one of the *Cyclades* near *Delus*) son of *Badys*, or as others, *Babis*; born according to *Suidas* in the 46. Olympiad; he lived in the time of *Alyattes* King of *Lydia*; contemporary with the seven Sophists by some accompted one of them. *Laertius* saith, he was in the fifty ninth Olympiad, * *Cicero* in the time of *Servius Tullus*. * *Tusc. quæst.* 1.

There are who affirm he heard *Pittacus*; others say he had no Master, but procured and studied by himself the abstruse books of the Phœnicians.

* Many strange things are related of him; * In *Syrus* being thirsty, he required water of one of his Scholers, which (* being drawn out of a well) he drank, and thereupon declared there would be an Earthquake within three daies in that Island; which happening as he foretold, gained him much credit: though ascribed by *Cicero* not to a divine but natural cause. * *Laert.* * *Apollon. hist. comment. cap.* 5. * *Laert.*

* Again, going to *Juno's* Temple in *Janus*, he beheld a ship with full sail entring the Harbour, he said to those that were present, it would never come into the Haven, whilst he was speaking, a storm arose and the ship sunk in their sight. * *Apollon. ibid* *Laert.*

* Going by *Messana* to *Olympia*, he advised *Perilaus*, at whose house he lay, to remove thence with all his Family; which hee obey'd not: *Messana* was soon after taken. * *Laert.*

*He bad the Lacedæmonians not to esteem gold or silver. *Hercules* having so commanded him in a dream: who appeared likewise to the Kings, and bad them obey *Pherecydes*: this some ascribe to *Pythagoras*. * *Laert.*

He held opinions contrary to *Thales*, but * agreed with him in that of water, that it is principle of all things. Hee said the Gods called a Table Συνεστώ. *He first asserted the immortality of the soul, according to some. * *Tzetzes* affirms he was Master to *Thales*, but that suits with their times: That he instructed *Pythagoras* is generally acknowledg'd. * *Achil. Tat. Isag. in Art.* * *Cicer. Tusc. quæst.* 1. * *Chiliad.*

The manner of his death is variously related. * *Hermippus* saith, in a war betwixt the Ephesians & Magnesians, he desirous the Ephesians might be victors, demanded of one present, whence he was, who answered of *Ephesus*: draw me then, saith he, by the leggs into the Magnesian Territory, and bid your country men, after they have gained the battle, bury me. I am * *Laert.*

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Pherecydes. This message he delivered; they overcame the Magnesians and finding *Pherecydes* dead, buried him honourably: some affirm he went to *Delphi* and threw himself from the Coryean Mountain; But the more generall opinion is that * he died most miserably, his whole body eaten up with lice (*Pliny* saith, with Serpents which broke out of his skin) whereby when his face became deform'd, he avoided and refused the sight of his acquaintance; when any one came to visit him (as *Pythagoras* did) and demanded how he did, he putting out his finger at the key hole, consumed by his disease showed them the condition of his whole body: Saying χοιδάνα, the skin showeth: which words the Philosophers take in an ill sense: The Delians affirm the God of that place sent this disease to him out of anger, because he boasted much of his own wisdom to his disciples, saying if he should never sacrifice to any God, he should lead a life no lesse pleasant then those that offered hecatombs. *Pythagoras* buried him; his tomb carried this inscription,

* *Ælian.* 4. 28. *See also* 5. 2.

Of wisdom I comprise the utmost bound;
Who further would be satisfied, must sound
Pythagoras, *of Greeks the most renown'd.*

Some affirm he was the first that writ in prose, which others ascribe to *Cadmus*: He writ

* *Heptamuchos* or *Thocrasia*; perhaps the same with his *Theology*, ten books containing the origine and succession of the Gods (if not mistaken for the Theogony of the younger *Pherecydes*) an obscure dark work, the allegories whereof *Isidore* cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus* conceives taken from the prophecy of *Cham*.

Concerning this Book there is extant an Epistle under the name of *Pherecydes*, but may well be suspected to be spurious.

Pherecydes *to* Thales.

WEll may you die when ever your fatall hower arrives; as soon as I received your letter I fell sick, was overrun with lice, and had a feavour: whereupon I gave order to my servants, that as soon as I were buried they should carry the Book to you; if you with the rest of the wise men approve it, publish it; if you approve it not, publish it not, for me it doth not please; there is no certainty in it: whatsoever the Theologist saith, you must understand otherwise; for I write in fables. Constrain'd by my disease, I have not admitted of any Physician or friend, but when they came to the door, and asked how it was with me, putting my finger out at the key-hole, I shewed them how desperately ill I was, and bespoke them to come on the morrow to the funerall of Pherecydes.

There was another of this name of the same Iland, an Astrologer: there are more mentioned by *Suidas*.

FINIS.

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THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.

The Second Part.

Containing the *Jonick* Philosophers.



LONDON,

Printed for *Humphrey Moseley*, and are to be sold at his Shop at the *Princes Armes* in St. *Pauls* Church-yard, and by *Thomas Dring*, at the *George* in Fleetstreet neere *Cliffords Inne*. 1655.

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LONDON,

Printed for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his Shop
at the Prince's Arms in S. Paul's Church yard, and by

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ANAXIMANDER.

CHAP. I.

Of his life.

* PHiloſophy had a twofold beginning, one from *Anaximander*, another from *Pythagoras*. *Anaximander* was Diſciple to *Thales*; whence that Philoſophy was called *Jonick*; *Thales* being an Jonian, for he was of *Miletus*. *Pythagoras* was Diſciple to *Pherecydes*; that king of Philoſophy called, from the place where he taught, *Italick*. *Thales* was ſucceeded by *Anaximander*, *Anaximander* by *Anaximenes*, *Anaximenes* by *Anaxagoras*, *Anaxagoras* by *Arceolans*, in whom (as *Plutarch*, *Laertius* and others affirm) it ended, *Socrates* (the ſcholer of *Archelans*) introducing Morality. * *Laert. præf.*

Anaximander a Mileſian, * Countryman, companion and * Kinſman of *Thales* was his Diſciple alſo, and * ſucceſſor in the propagation of his Doctrine; ſon of *Praxiades* (corruptly called by * ſome *Praxidamus*) born the third year of the 42 Olympiad. * He flouriſhed moſt in the time of *Polycrates* Tyrant of *Samos*. * *Cic. acad. quæſt. 4.* * *Suid.* * *Strab. lib. 1. &* 4. * *Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.* * *Laert.*

* He demonſtrated the compendium of Geometry; * being next *Homer* the firſt Maſter of that ſcience; hee firſt ſet forth a Geographick table, of which *Laertius* is to be underſtood who affirms, *he deſigned the circumference of the Sea and land.* * *Suid.* * *Strab. lib. 1.*

* In the 50. Olympiad he found out the obliquity of the Zodiack, *that is* (ſaith *Pliny*) *he opened the gates of things.* * He invented the *Gnomon*, & ſet up the firſt in an open place at *Lacedæmon*. * He found out the Æquinoctiall Solſtices and Horologies; * He framed *Horoſcopes* to denote the Tropicks and Æquinoxes; whence * *Salmaſius* conceives the uſe of his diall was onely to delineate the Tropick and Æquinoctiall points, that they did not ſerve to diſtinguiſh the hours or twelve parts of the day, he proveth, becauſe the very name *δωδεκατημόριον* in that ſence or the diviſion of the day into twelve equall parts, was not known a long time after. * *Plin. 2. 8.* * *Laert.* * *Suid.* * *Laert.* * *Plinian. Exercit.*

* He adviſed the Lacedæmonians to quit their City and houſes, and to lie armed in the open field, foretelling an Earthquake which threw down the whole City, and tore away piece of the Mountain *Taygetus*. * *Cicer. divinat.* * *Plin. 2. 79.*

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* Laert. * As he ſung, the boyes uſed to deride him, whereupon hee ſaid, we muſt learn to ſing better for the boyes.

Of his Auditors are remembred *Anaximenes* and *Parmenides*.

Of his writings theſe.

* Suid. * Περὶ φύσεως, *Of Nature*: This treatiſe perhaps *Laertius* meanes, who ſaith he digeſted his opinions into Commentaries, which Book fell into the hands of *Apollodorus* the Athenian.

Γῆς περίοδος.
Περὶ τῶν ἀπλανῶν.
Of the Sphear, with other things.

He was according to *Apollodorus* 64 years old the ſecond yeare of the 58. Olympiad, and died ſoon after.

CHAP. 2.

Of his Opinions.

Sect. 1. *That Infinity is the principle of all things.*

Acad. quæſt. 4. THales (ſaith * *Cicero*) *who held that all things conſiſt of water, could not perſwade his Countryman and Companion* Anaximander *thereto, for he aſſerted* That *infinity is that whereof all things were made*; or (according to * *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, and * *Juſtine Martyr*) *that it is the principle and element of things* (for theſe two he confounded, as was obſerv'd of his Maſter *Thales*) * *but not declared what this infinity is, whether Air, Water, Earth, or any other body*, for which condemned by *Plutarch*.

* De plac. phil. 1.3. * Paræn. ad Græc. * Laert.

That *it is* * *one, infinite in magnitude* (not number) whence * *Ariſtotle* reprehends him for imagining contrarieties can proceed from the ſame principle. * *That it is for that reaſon infinite that it may not fail.*

* Symplic. in phyſ. 1.2. * phiſ. 1.5. * Plut. plac. phil. 1.3. * Laert. * Cap. 6. * Cicer. Acad. quæſt. 4. Plut. plac. phil. 1.3. Iuſt. Mart. paræn

* That *the parts thereof are changed; the whole is immutable* (* *Symplicius* ſaith moveable) * That *out of it all things proceed, and reſolve into it.*

That *there are infinite worlds generated which corrupt into that whereof they were generated.*

Sect. 2. *Of the Heavens.*

* De nat. deor. 1. * plac. phil. 1.7. * Stob.

HIs opinion (according to * *Cicero*) was, that *the Gods are native* (having a beginning) *riſing and ſetting by long intervalls*, and that *there are innumerable worlds*: This * *Plutarch* and *Stobæus* apply to the Heavens and Stars. *But how can we* (addes *Cicero*) *underſtand a God that is not eternall.* * That *Heaven conſiſts of cold and heat mixed.*

* That

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That *the ſtarrs are globous inſtances consiſting of air full of fire, reſpiring flames at ſome certain part:* * *moved by the circles and ſphears wherein they inhere; which aſſertion* Ariſtotle *borrowed from hence.* * Stob.

That *the Sun is ſeated higheſt, the moon next, then the fixed ſtarres and Planets.* * Stob.

That *the circle of the Sun is* * 28. *times* (Theodoret ſaith 27.) *greater then the earth, having a hollow circle about it like a Chariot wheel, full of fire; in one part whereof there is a mouth, at which the fire is ſeen as out of the hole of a flute, which is the Sun* * *equall in bigneſſe with the Earth.* * Plut. plac. phil. 2. 20. * Plut. plac. phil. 2. 21: * Laert.

* That *the cauſe of the Sunn's Eclipſe is the ſtopping that hole in the midſt, out of which the fire iſſues.* Plut. plac. phil. 2. 24. Stob.

* That *the circle of the Moon is* 29. *times greater then the Earth, like a Chariot wheel, having a hollow orbe in the midſt full of fire (like the Sun) and oblique, breathing fire out at one part as out of a tunnel.* * Plut. plac. phil. 2. 25. * Plut. plac. phil. 2. 29.

* That *the Eclipſe of the Moon happens according to her converſions, when the mouth out of which the fire iſſueth, is ſtopped.* Stob. * Plut. plac. phil. 2. 28.

* That *the Mooon hath a light of her own: but very thin;* * *that ſhe ſhineth in the light ſhe borroweth from the Sun;* which two aſſertions are ſo far * from being inconſiſtent, that it is the common opinion * both are true. * Laert. * As a learned perſon conceives, upon thoſe words of Laert. * See Eraſm. Reinholdus in Theoricas purbachii pag. 164

Sect. 3. *Of Meteors.*

* That *wind is a fluxion of the air, when the moſt ſubtle and liquid parts thereof are either ſtirr'd or reſolved by the Sun.* * Plut. plac. phil. 3. 7.

* That *Thunders, lightnings, preſters, and whirlewinds are cauſed by the wind encloſed in a thick cloud, which by reaſon of its lightneſſe breaketh forth violently; the rupture of the cloud maketh a crack; and the divulſion by reaſon of the blackneſſe cauſeth a flaſhing light.* * Seneca more expreſſely, *He aſcribed all to wind. Thunder (ſaith he) is the ſound of a breaking cloud: why unequall? becauſe the breakings are unequall. Why doth it thunder in a clear day? Becauſe even then the wind breaks through the thick and dry air. Why ſometimes doth it thunder and not lighten? Becauſe the thinner and weaker ſpirit is able to make a flame but not a ſound. What is lightning? The agitation of the air ſevering it ſelf and ruſhing down, diſcloſing a faint fire. What is Thunder? The motion of a piercing thick ſpirit.* Plut. plac. phil. 3. 3. Stob. Nat. queſt. 2. 18

* *All things are ſo ordered, that ſome influence deſcend from the Æther upon inferiour things; ſo fire ſounds, forced upon cold clouds: when it breaks them it ſhines; the fewer flames beget lightnings, the greater, thunder: a great part, the reſt was altered from its naturall kind by his exceſſive heat.* * Sen. nat. queſt. 2. 19.

* That *the firſt creatures were bred in humidity, and encloſed within ſharp thorny barks; but as they grew older they became dryer, and at laſt the bark being broken round about them, they lived ſome little time after it.* Plut. plac. phil.

ANAXIMENES.

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ANAXIMENES.

CHAP. I.

His life.

ANaximenes was a Milesian, Son of *Euristratus* * friend, * Disciple and * successour to *Anaximander*. According to *Eusebius* he flourish'd in the second year of the 56. Olympiad. *Suidas* saith he liv'd in the 55. Olympiad at the taking of *Sardys*, when *Cyrus* overthrew *Crœsus*. So that the acompt of * *Apollodorus*, (who affirms he was born in the 63. Olympiad) is corrupt. He heard also, as some affirm, *Parmenides*. He used the Jonick Dialect, plain and incomposed. * *Pliny* calls him the inventour of Gnomonicks; but perhaps it is a mistake for *Anaximander*. Of his auditors were *Anaxagoras* and *Diogenes Apolloniates*.

* Laert. * Simplic. * Cic. acad. quæst. Plin. l. 7. 56 * Suid. * Laert. * Lib. 2.

These two Epistles of his are preserved by *Laertius*.

Anaximenes *to* Pythagoras.

THales having lived happily even to old age, ended his daies unfortunately. One night going out of his house (as he used) with his maid to contemplate the starrs, gazing and not taking heed to the place, he lighted upon a precipise and fell down. This was the fate of the Milesian Astronomer. But let us who were his Auditors, preserve the memory of the person, and our sons and auditors after us. Let us still retain his sayings, and begin all our discourses with Thales.

Anaximenes *to* Pythagoras.

YOu are more advised then we, who leaving Samos *for* Crotona *live there in quiet, the Æacides prove injurious to others, and the Milesians want not Tyrants of their own choosing. The King of* Media *is likewise terrible to us, but would not be so, should we pay him tribute. The Jonians are resolved to war with the Medes for the general liberty, &*

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if they fight we have no hope of safety. How then can **Anaximenes** *perplexed with fear of death and slavery apply his mind to celestial speculations. But you are coveted by the Crotonians, and all Italians; Auditors come to you as far as from Sicily.*

CHAP. II.

His opinions.

Sect. 1. *That the Air is the principle of all things.*

Plut de.plac. Justin Martyr parem. 1.3. phil.

HE held that the *Air is the principle of the Universe, of which all things are engendred, and into which they resolve; Our soules by which we live are air; so spirit and air contain in being all the world; for spirit and air are two names signifying one thing.*

** Cic. de nat. deor. 1. *Cic. acad. qu. ſt. 4.*

That * *the air is God, begotten, immense, infinite, ever in motion;* * *but that those things which arise out of it are finite. First is begotten, earth, water, fire, then of these all things.* That the air is God *Cicero* understands of the faculties penetrating through the Elements or bodies.

Sect. 2. *Of the Heavens.*

** Plut. plac. phil. 2. 11.*

THat * *the outward superficies of Heaven is earthly.*

That *the starrs are of a fiery substance, invisible earthly bodies intermixt with them; that they are inherent, as nailes in Chrystall.*

** Plut. plac. phil. 2. 23. * Laert.*

That * *they are forced back by the thick resisting air,* * *and move not above (or under) but about the earth.*

** Plut plac. phil. 2. 19.*

* That *the sun is flat as a plate, of fiery substance.*

** Plut. plac. phil. 2. 19.*

That * *the signes of summer and winter come not by the moon, but by the sun onely.*

** Plut. plac. phil. 2. 24.*

That * *the sun is eclipsed when the mouth out of which issueth his heat is closed.*

Plut. Plut. plac. phil. 2. 29.

That *the Moon is likewise of a fiery nature.*

That *the Moon is eclipsed when the mouth out of which issueth her heat, is closed.*

Sect. 3. Of *Meteors.*

Plut. plac. phil. 3. 4.

THat *the clouds are made by condensation of air, rain by condensation of the clouds, out of which it is squeezed; snow of rain congeal'd in falling, and hail of the same contracted by a cold wind.*

Stob.

Concerning Thunder, lightning, *&c.* to the assertion of *Anaximander* he added the comparison of the Sea, *which being broken with Oares shineth.*

Plut. de plac. phil. 3. 5.

That *the rainbow is made by reflection of the Sunns beams upon a thick*

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thick cloud, which, not able to pierce it, are refracted upon it.

That *Earthquakes proceed from the rarity and dryneſſe of the Earth, one being caus'd by exceſſive heat, the other by excecceſſive cold.* Further explained by * *Ariſtotle* thus; *He held that the Earth, as well when it is moiſt as when it is dry, breaketh, and by theſe great pieces thereof which uſe to fall upon it, is ſhaken: Hence it is that Earthquakes happen either in droughts or great raines: by droughts it is broken, and by great ſhowers exceſſively moiſtned parts likewiſe in ſunder.* Plutarch. de plac. 3. 15. * Meteor. 2. 7. Senec. nat. quæſt. 6. 10.

He called *the contraction and condenſation of matter, cold; the laxation and rarity thereof, heat: whence a man breaths out of his mouth both hot and cold; his breath compreſt by his lips, and condens'd is cold; but breathed forth with an open mouth is hot by reaſon of the rarity.* Plutarch. de primo. frig.

ANAXAGORAS.

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ANAXAGORAS.

CHAP. I.

Anaxagoras *Country, time, and ſtudy of Philoſophy.*

ANaxagoras was of *Clazomenæ*, ſon of *Hegeſibulus* or *Eubulus*, born in the 70th. Olympiad according to *Apollodorus*; in the firſt yeare thereof; Eminent for his noble birth and wealthy fortunes, but more for his magnanimous contempt of them. * Hee left his lands and patrimony, (ſaith * *Cicero*,) to learn and obtain the divine delight of Philoſophy: and * converted himſelfe from civill affaires to the knowledge of things. *Suidas* affirms he left his grounds to ſheep and Camells to be eaten up; and therefore *Apollonius Tyaneas* ſaid, he read Philoſophy to beaſts rather then to men. * *Plato*, derides him for quitting his eſtate; *Laertius* reports he aſſign'd it to his friends; whereupon being by them accuſed of improvidence; why (anſwered he) *do not you take care of it?* To one who reproved him as taking no care of his Country, *wrong me not*, ſaid he, *my greateſt care is my Country*, pointing to the Heavens. To another asking for what end he was born, he anſwered, *to contempla e the Sun, Moon and Heavens.* * In fine, he withdrew himſelf to contemplation of naturall Philoſophy not regarding civill affaires. In this ſtudy *Anaximenes* was his Maſter * from whom he received his learning.

Laert.

* *Plut. contra uſer. Lyſand.*
* *Tuſc. queſt. 5.*
* *De orator. 3.*
* *Hipp. mai.*
* *Laert.*
* *Cicer. de Na. deor. 1.*
* *Laert.*

* In the twentieth year of his age the firſt of the 75. Olympiad, *Colliades* being Archon (whom *Laertius* corruptly calls *Callias*) at the time of *Xerxes* expedition into *Greece* he went to *Athens* to ſtudy Philoſophy, where he continued thirty yeares, and was honored with the title of Νοῦς *the Mind*, as being the firſt that added that principle to matter, ſo *Amon*.

Where dwells fam'd Anaxagoras, *the mind,*
** For he that agent firſt to matter joyn'd*
Which things confuſed orderly deſign'd.

* Laert. perhaps ὁ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι νοῦν

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CHAP. II.

Of his opinions.

Sect. 1. Of the first principles, and beginning of things.

* Plut. plac. phil. 1.3.
* Arist. phys. 3.4
* Arist. phys. 3.7.

HE held that *the materiall principle of all things is one and many* (ὁμοιομερῆ) *parts infinite, similar, and contrary, continuous to the touch*; * *sustaining themselves, not contain'd by any other.* His grounds these: First, because, according to the common rule of naturall Philosophers, of nothing proceeds nothing, it is not possible any thing can be made of that which is not; or that which hath a being can be resolved into that which hath none. Secondly, because contraries are made mutually of each other, therefore they were in each other before; for if it be necessary, that whatsoever is made, be made of that which is, or is not, but that it should be made of that which is not, impossible, wherein all agree, that ever discourst upon nature, it follows necessarily, that they be made of things that are, and are within these very things, though by reason of their smallnesse, not discernable by us: Hence is it that they say, every thing is mixt with every thing; because they see any thing made of any thing: but things seem different, and are called diverse in respect to one another, by reason that the multitude of infinites which are within aboundeth in the mistion; for the whole is neither quite white nor black, flesh nor bone, but every thing seemeth to be of the nature of that whereof it hath most.* Of simple nourishment, as bread, water, and the like, are bred the hair, veines, arteries, nerves, bones, and other parts of the body, all things are therefore in this food, as nerves, bones, and the like, discernable by reason, though not by sense: Of these Atomes the whole world consisteth, * as gold of grains; these homogeneall parts are the matter of all things; his opinion is thus expresst by * *Lucretius*:

* Plut.
Laert.
* Lib. 1.

Next Anaxagoras *we must pursue,*
And his Homoiomeria *review;*
A term that's no where mention'd but among
The Greeks; too copious for our narrow tongue:
Yet may the sense be in more words arraid;
The principle of all things, entrailes made
Of smallest entrails, bone of smallest bone,
Blood of small sanguine drops reduc'd to one;
Gold of small graines, earth of small sands compacted,
Small drops to water, sparks to fire contracted;
The like in every thing suppos'd, yet he

Nature

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Nature asserted from all vacuum free;
And held that each corporeall being might
Be subdivided into infinite.

That * God is an infinite selfe-moving mind, that this divine * infinite mind, not inclosed in any body, * is the efficient cause of all things; out of the infinite matter consisting of similar parts, every thing being made according to its species by the divine minde, who, when all things were at first confusedly mingled together, came and reduced them to order. * Lactan. fals. rel. 1. 5. * Cic. nat. deor. 1 * August. civ. dei. 8. 2.

Sect 2. *Of the Heavens.*

THat *the higher parts of the world are full of fire, the power that is there he called æther*, and that properly, saith *Aristotle*, for the body, which is continually in quick motion, is conceived to be divine by nature, for that reason called æther, none of those that are here below being of that kind. *Aristot. Met. 1. 3.

That "* the ambient æther being of a fiery nature by the "swiftnesse of its motion, snatcheth up stones from the earth, "which being set on fire, become starres, * all carried from East "to West. * Plut. plac. phil. 2. 13. * Plut. plac. phil. 2. 16.

That *"the Starres are impelled by the condensation of "the aire about the Poles, which the Sun makes more strong by compressing. *Plut. plac. phil. 2. 23.

That "the starres are earthly, and that after the first secreti- "on of the Elements, the fire separating it selfe, drew some "parts of the earth to its own nature, and made them like "fire: Whereupon he farther affirmed *Achil. Tat. isag. in Arat.

* The Sun is a burning plate or stone, * many times bigger "then *Peloponnesus*, whose conversion is made by the repulse "of the Northern aire, which he, by compressing, makes more "strong. * Plut. plac. phil. 2. 20. Laert. Achil. Tat. Isag. in Arat. * Plut. plac. phil. 2. 21.

* That "the Moon is a dark body, enlightned by the Sun, "habitable, having plaines, hills and waters; that * the ine- "quality in her face proceeds from a mixture, cold and earth- "ly, for there is darknesse mixt with her fiery nature, whence "she is called a star of false light. * Plato saith, that the Moon was occasion of dishonour to him, because he assumed the originall of this opinion of her borrowing light to himselfe, whereas it was much more antient. * Plut. plac. phil. 2. 25. * Plut. plac. phil. 2. 30. Laert. * In Cratylo.

That "* the milky way is the shadow of the earth upon that "part of heaven, when the Sun, being underneath, enlightens "not all: * Or as *Aristotle*, that "the Milkie way is the light of "some starres, for the Sun being under the earth, looks not "upon some starres, the light of those on whom he looks is not "seen, being swallowed up in his; the proper light of those "which * Plut. plac. phil. 3. 1. * Meteor. 1. 8.

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"which are hindred by the earth from the Suns illumination, "is the *Galaxy*; *Laertius* saith, "he held the *Galaxy* to be the re-"flection of the light of the Sun.

Sect. 3. *Of Meteors.*

Ariſt. Meteor. 1.6. That "Comets are the co-apparition of wandring ſtarres, which approach ſo near each other, as that they ſeem to touch one another: Or as *Laertius*; "the concourſe of Planets, "emitting flames.

That "falling ſtarres are ſhot down from the æther, as ſpar-"kles, and therefore ſoon extinguiſhed.

* *Laert.* That "* Thunder is the Colliſion of Clouds, lightning their *Plut. plac. phil.* 3.3. "mutuall attrition: Or as *Plutarch*; "the cold falling upon the "hot, or the ætheriall, upon the aeriall, the noiſe which it "makes is Thunder: of the blackneſſe of the cloud is cauſed "lightning, of the greatneſſe of the light Thunderbolts, of the "more corporeall fire whirle-winds, of the more cloudy Pre-"ſters.

That "lightning diſtills from the æther; and that "from "that great heat of Heaven many things fall down, which the "clouds preſerve a long time encloſed.

Plut. plac. phil. 3. 5. That the "Rain-bow is a refraction of the Suns light upon "a thick dark cloud, oppoſite to him as a looking-glaſſe; by the ſame reaſon (ſaith he) appeared chiefly in *Pontus*, two, or more Suns.

* *Lacrt.* That "winds proceed from extenuation of the aire, by the "Sun.

* *Ariſt. Meteor.* 2. 7. *Plut. plac. phil.* 3. 15. *Senec. nat. queſt.* 6. That "Earth-quakes are cauſed by the air or æther, which "being of its own nature apt to aſcend, when it gets into the "veines and cavernes of the earth, finding difficulty in "the getting out, cauſeth that ſhaking; for the upper parts "of the earth contract themſelves by the benefit of rain, Na-"ture having made the whole body thereof alike, laxe and "ſpungy, the parts, as in a Ball, ſuperiour, and inferiour, the "ſuperiour, that which is inhabited by us, the inferiour, the "other: This wind getting into the inferiour parts, breaks the "condenſed aire, with the ſame force as we ſee clouds broken, "when, upon the colliſion of them, and motion of the agitated "aire, fire breaks forth: this aire falls upon that which is next, "ſeeking to get out, and tears in pieces whatſoever it meets, "untill through thoſe narrow paſſages, it either finds a way to "Heaven, or forceth one: which *Laertius* obſcurely expreſſeth, "the repulſion of the air upon the earth.

Cic. Acad. queſt. 4. That "Snow is not white, but black, nor did it ſeem white "to him, becauſe he knew the water whereof it is congealed to "be black.

Sect.

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Sect 4. *Of the Earth.*

THat "the begining of motion proceeding from the mind, the heavie bodies obtained the loweſt place, as the "earth; the light the higheſt, as the fire; thoſe betwixt both, "the middle, as the aire and water: thus the ſea ſubſiſts upon "the ſuperficies of the earth, which is flat, the humidity being "ratified by the Sun. *Laert.*

That "the primitive humidity being diffuſed, as a pool was "burned by the motion of the Sun about it, and the unctuous "part bring exhaled, the remainder became ſalt. *Plut.plac. phil.* 3. 16.

That "aſſoon as the world was made, and living creatures "produced out of the world, the world enclined of it ſelfe to- "wards the ſouth, according to divine providence; that ſome "parts thereof might be habitable, others not habitable, by "reaſon of the extremities of heat and cold. *Plut.plac. phil.* 2.8.

That "the miſtion of the Elements is by appoſition. *Plut.plac.phil.* 1. 17.

That "the inundation of *Nilus* is cauſed by the ſnow of *Æ-* "*thiopia*, which is diſſolved in ſummer, and congealed in win- "ter. *Plut.plac. phil.* 4. 1.

Sect 5. *Of living Creatures.*

THat "Creatures were firſt generated of humidity, calidity, "and earthly matter, afterwards mutually of one another, "males on the right ſide, females on the left. *Laert.*

That "the ſoule is that which moveth, * that it is aeriall, "and hath a body of the nature of aire. **Plu,.plac phil.* 4. 1.

* That there is a death of the ſoule likewiſe, which is ſepara- "tion from the body. **Plut.plac.phil.* 5.24.

That all Animalls have active reaſon.

* That ſleep is an action of the body, not of the ſoul.

* That in the hand of man conſiſts all his skill. * *Plut.plac.phil.* 5.25.

* That "the voice is made by the wind, hitting againſt firm "reſiſting air, returning the counter-blow to our ears, which "is the manner whereby alſo the repercuſſion of the air is "formed, called Eccho. * *Plut. de amore frat.*

That "* the Gall is the cauſe of acute diſeaſes, which over- "flowing, is diſperſed into the lungs, veines, and coſts. * *Ariſt.*

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CHAP. III.

His predictions.

Suidas saith, he foretold many things: of those, two instances onely have been hitherto preserved. The first thus related by *Pliny*, *The Grecians celebrate* Anaxagoras *of the* Clozomenian, *and for foretelling by his learning and Science in the second yeare of the 78. Olympiad, on what day a stone would fall from the Sun, which happen'd in the day time in a part of Thrace at the river* Agos *which stone is at this day shewne about the bigneſſe of a beame of an aduſt colour, a Comet also burning in those nights.*

* *Vit. Lysand.* * *Plutarch* adds, that it was in his time not onely shewen, but reverenced by the Peloponnesians. *Eusebius* reckons the fall of this stone upon the fourth yeare of the 78. Olympiad, which is two yeares after *Pliny* accompts of the prediction. *Silenus* cited by *Laertius*, saith, it fell when *Dimylus* was Archon, which if it be to be red *Dyphilus* (for the other name is not to be found neere these times) will be the first yeare of the 84 Olympiad. But the marble at *Arundell House* (graven about the 129. Olympiad to be preferred before any other chronologicall accompt) expresly names the fall upon the 4th yeare upon the 77. Olympiad, when *Theagenides* was Archon, two yeares before. *Pliny* saith it was foretold. It was beleeved to have portended (as *Plutarch* testifies) the great defeat given to the *Athenians* by *Lysander* at the river *Agos* 62. yeares after, *viz.* the fourth yeare of the 39. Olympiad.

* *Meteor. l. 1.* Of the wonder * *Aristotle* gives a very slight accompt, affirming "it was a stone snatched up by the wind, and fell in the "day time, a Comet happening in those nights, which is disproved by * *Plutarch*, who hath this large discourse upon it: "It is * *Vit. Lysand.* "said that *Anaxagoras* did prognosticate that one of the bodies "included the Heavens it should be loosed by shaking, & fall to "the ground, the Stars are not in place where they were first ere-"ated, they are heavie bodies, of the nature of stone, shining by "reflection of the æther, being drawn up by force, & kept there "by the violence of that circular motion, as at the beginning in "the first separation of things, cold & heavie they were restrai-"ned. There is another opinion more probable which saith, "those which we call falling starres are not fluxions of the æ-"ther extinguisht in the aire almost as soon as lighted, nor in-"flammations or combustions of any part of the aire, which by "it spreadeth upwards, but they are cœlestiall bodies failing "of their retention by the ordinary course of heaven throwne "downe, not upon the habitable earth, but into the Sea, which "is the cause we doe not see them; yet the assertion of *Anax-*

agoras

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"agoras is confirmed by *Damachus*, who writeth in his book of "Religion, that 75. daies together before this ſtone fell, they "ſaw a great body of fire in the Air like a cloud enflamed, "which tarried not in one place, but went and came uncer- "tainly removing, from the driving whereof iſſued flaſhes of "fire that fell in many places like falling ſtarrs; when this great "body of fire fell in that part of the Earth, the Inhabitants em- "boldned, came to the place to ſee what it was, and found no "appearance of fire but a great ſtone on the ground, nothing, in "compariſon of that body of fire. Herein *Damachus* had need "of favourable hearers: But if what he ſaith be true, he confu- "ſeth thoſe Arguments who maintain it was a piece of a Rock "by the force of a boiſtrous wind torn from the top of a Moun- "tain, and carried in the air ſo long as this whirlwind continu- "ed, but ſo ſoon as that was laid, the ſtone fell immediately; "unleſſe this lightning body which appeared ſo many daies "was fire indeed, which coming to diſſolve, and to be put out "did beget this violent ſtorm of force to tear off the ſtone, and "caſt it down.

This it is likely * *Charimander* meant, who in his book of Comets ſaith, *Anaxagoras* obſerved in the Heavens a great unaccuſtomed light of the greatneſſe of a huge pillar, and that it ſhined for many daies. * *Senec. nat. queſt. 7. 5.*

The other memorable prediction of *Anaxagoras* was * of a ſtorm, which hee ſignified by going to the Olympick games, when the weather was fair in a ſhaggy gown, the rain powring down all the Græcians (ſaith *Ælian*) ſaw and gloried, that hee knew more divinely then according to humane Nature. * *Suid.*

CHAP. IV.

His Scholers and Auditors.

THeſe are remembred as his Scholars and Auditors.

* *Pericles* Son of *Xantippus* being inſtructed by *Anaxagoras*, could eaſily reduce the exerciſe of his mind from ſecret obſtruſive things to publick popular cauſes.* *Pericles* much eſteemed him, was by him inſtructed in natural Philoſophy, and beſides other virtues fre'd from ſuperſtitious fears ariſing from ignorance of phyſicall cauſes; whereof there is this inſtance; the head of a Ram with but one horn being brought to *Pericles*, was by the Southſayers interpreted prodigious: *Anaxagoras* opening it, ſhowed that the brain filled not its naturall place, but contracted by degrees in an ovall form toward that part where the horn grew. Afterwards *Anaxagoras* neglected and decrepit with age in a melancholy reſentment thereof lay down and cover'd his face, reſolving to ſtarve himſelf, which * *Pericles* hea- * *Cicer.* * *Plut. vit. Pericl.*

ring,

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ring, came immediately to him bewailing, not *Anaxagoras*, but himself, who should lose so excellent a Counsellor: *Anaxagoras* uncovering his face said, They, *Pericles*, who would use a Lamp, must apply it with oil.

Archelaus Son of *Apollodorus* was Disciple to *Anaxagoras*, and, as *Laertius* affirms, called the naturall Philosopher for first bringing that kind of learning to *Athens*, but how that consists with his relation to *Anaxagoras*, who, as he acknowledgeth, studied naturall Philosophy thirty years in *Athens*, *Casaubone* justly questions.

* His words (because never published) these: Διήκουσε δὲ καὶ Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ Κλαζομένιος ἐπὶ πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ ἔτεσιν, ὃν Ἀναξαγόρας ἰδὼν ὑποστάντα δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔσχε δόγματα:

Euripides, * as the writer of his life affirms, son of *Mnesarchus*, born at the first time of *Xerxes's* expedition into *Greece*, the same day that the Grecians overthrew the Persians, was first a Painter, then an Auditor of *Anaxagoras*; but seeing him persecuted for his opinions, lastly converted himself to Tragick poesy.

Socrates, Son of *Sophroniscus*, was according to *Aristoxenus* an Auditor of *Anaxagoras* till he left the City, and thereupon applyed himself to *Archelaus*, which *Porphyrius* reckons above the 17th. year of his age, or rather the nineteenth.

Democritus also is by some affirmed, being younger then *Anaxagoras* forty years, to have applyed himself to him, but *Laertius* affirms he could not endure *Democritus*, & shunn'd his conversation; *Phavorinus* likewise attests, that because he would not admit him, *Democritus* profess'd himself his Enemy, and denyed his opinions of the Sun and Moon, but said they were ancient, and that he stole them, as likewise his description of the world, and assertion concerning the mind.

Metrodorus of *Lampsacum* is likewise mentioned by *Laertius* as friend to *Anaxagoras*.

CHAP. V.

Of his triall, Death sentences and writings.

OF his tryal saith *Laertius* there are several reports. *Sotion* in his treatise of the succession of Philosophers saith, he was accused by *Cleon* of impiety, for asserting the Sun to be a burning plate, but being defended by *Pericles* his Scholar, hee was fined five Talents and banish'd.

Laert. *Satyrus*, that he was cited to the Court by *Thucydides*, who was of the contrary faction of *Pericles*, accused not onely of impiety, but of holding intelligence with the Persians, and in his absence condemned to death; when news was brought him at the same time both of the death of his Sons, which (according to *Ælian*) were two, all that he had, and his own condemnation of the latter he said, Nature long since condemned both them & me to

Cic. Tusc. quæst. 3. Plut. de ira cohib. * *Varr. hist 3.*

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to death; of his * Sons (* with a calm look)* *You tell me nothing new or unexpected; I knew that I beget them mortall*, which some ascribe to *Solon*, others to *Xenophon*, *Demetrius Phalereus* saith, hee buried them with his own hands. * *Plut. consol. ad Apollon.* * *Simplic. in Epictet.* * *Val. Max.* 5. 10.

* *Hermippus*, he was imprison'd to be put to death, but *Pericles* appearing before the Judges, asked if they knew any thing in his life that they could accuse, to which they answered nothing, but I, saith he, am his disciple, then be not transported by *Calumnies* to kill the man, but believe me and set him at liberty, so he was dismissed, but not able to brook the disgrace, hee kill'd himself. * *Laert.*

* *Hieronymus* saith, that *Pericles* brought him into the Court in poor garments extenuated with sickness, an object fitter for compassion then Justice. And thus much saith *Laertius* of his *Tryall*. * *Laert.*

Suidas, that he was cast into Prison by the Athenians for introducing a new opinion concerning God, and banish'd the City, though *Pericles* undertook to plead his cause, and that going to *Lampsacum* he there starv'd himself to death.

Josephus, that the Athenians believing the Sun to be God, which he affirm'd to be without sense and Knowledge, hee was by the votes of a few of them condemned to death.

But if we credit * *Plutarch*, he was neither condemned nor accused but by *Pericles*, who fear'd the Ordinance of *Diopithes*, which cited those that held prophane or sublime Opinions sent out of the City. * Yet else-where hee confesseth he was accused. * *Vit. Pericl.* * *De superstit.*

His departure from *Athens*, being 30. years after his coming thither, falls the third year of the 82. Olimpiad the 63. of his age. Thence he went to *Lampsacum*, where he continued the rest of his age, which extended to 22. years more, so little mindfull of *Athens*, or of his Country, as to one, who told him that he was deprived of the Athenians, he answered, no, but they of me; and * to his friends, who when hee fell sick, asked, if hee would be carried to *Clazomonæ* his Country, no said he, there is no need, the way to the grave is alike every where. * Before he died the Magistrates of the City asked him, if he would they should do any thing for him, hee answered, that his onely request was that the boyes might have leave to play yearly on that day of the month, whereon he died; which custom (saith *Laertius*) is continued to this time. Those of *Lampsacum* buried him magnificently with this Epitaph. * *Cic. Tusc. quæst.* 1. * *Plut. instruct. polit.*

Here lies, who through the truest paths did passe
O'th world Celestiall, Anaxagoras.

Ælian mentions two altars erected to him, one inscribed to

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the mind, the other to truth; *Laertius* concludes his life with this *Epigram*.

Fam'd Anaxagoras *the Sun defin'd*
A burning plate, for which to die design'd,
Sav'd by his Scholar Pericles; *But he*
* *Abandon'd life to seek Philosophie.*

* *Ælian.*

* *Laert.* * He is observed never to have been seen either to laugh or smile.

* *Laert.* * Being demanded if the Mountains of *Lampsacum* would in time become Sea, he answered, yes, if time fail not first.

* *Laert.* * Beholding the tomb of *Mausolus*, he said, a sumptuous Monument was a sign the substance was turned into stone.

* *Laert.* * He first affirmed the poesy of *Homer* to consist of virtue and Justice, to which *Metrodorus* added, that the Poet was skilfull in naturall Philosophy.

* *Stob.* * He conceived that there are two lessons of death, the time before our birth, and sleep.

Laertius and *Clemens Alexandrinus* assert him first of the Philosophers that put forth a Book. He writ

* *Phys. 1. 5.* *Plut. Georg.* *Of Natural Philosophy*, out of which *Aristotle* cites these fragments, *All these things were together:* which was the beginning of the book: and, *To be such is to be changed.* * *Plato* this, *The mind is the disposer and cause of all things.* * *Athenæus* this, *what is commonly called the milk of the hen, is the white of the egge.* * *Plato* censures the book as not using the mind at all, nor assigning any cause of the order of things, but aeriall, ætheriall and aquatick Natures, and the like incredible things for causes.

* *De exsul.* *The quadrature of the Circle:* which treatise * *Plutarch* saith hee composed during his imprisonment.

Laert. * There were three more of the same name; the first an Oratour, follower of *Isocrates*: the second a statuary, mentioned by *Antigonus*; the last a Grammarian, Scholar to *Zenodotus*.

ARCHE

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ARCHELAVS.

* ARchelaus was either an Athenian, or a Milesian; his Father *Apollodorus*, or according to some, *Mylon*; he was Scholer to *Anaxagoras*, Master to *Socrates*. He first transferr'd naturall Philosophy out of *Jonia* to *Athens*, (But how that can be, when *Anaxagoras* his Master taught there thirty years, *Casaubone* justly questions) and therefore was called *the Natural Philosopher:* in him naturall Philosophy ended, *Socrates* his Scholer introducing morality; but hee seemeth also to have touched morall Philosophy, for he treated of lawes, of things honest and just; from whom *Socrates* receiving his learning, because he increased it, is therefore thought to have invented it; wheras as *Gassendus* observes, morall Philosophy was far more antient, that being the principle ground of the attribute of wise conferred upon the Seven, whose learning lay chiefly that way: but *Socrates* is called the Author thereof, because he first reduced it to a science. *Archelaus* asserted *Laert.*

That the principles of all things are twofold, one incorporeall, * *the mind, (not maker of the world) the other corporeall, infinite in number, and dissimilar* * *which is the air, and its rarefaction and condensation, whereof one is fire, the other water.* * *Stob.* *Plut. plac. phil. 1.3.*

That *the Universe is infinite.*

That *the causes of generation are two; heat and cold.*

That *the starrs are burning iron plates.*

That *the Sun is the greatest of stars.*

That *the Sea is made by percolation of the hollow parts of the Earth.*

That *living Creatures are generated of slime or warm Earth, emitting a milky kind of slime like the chile;* that *this humid matter being dissolved by the fire, that of it which settles into a fiery substance is earth, that which evaporates is air.*

That *the winds getting into the hollow places of the Earth, filling all the spaces, the air condensed as much as possible, the wind that comes next presseth the first, forcing and disturbing it by frequent impulsions. This wind seeking a room through the narrow places, endeavoureth to break prison, whereby it happens the wind strugling for passage, that the earth is moved.* * *Sen. Nat. quest. 6. 12.*

Of the definition of the *Voice*, by *Plutarch* attributed to *Anaxagoras*, *Laertius* makes *Archelaus* the Author, describing it a *percussion* of the air.

That *what is just, or dishoneſt is defined by Law, not by Nature.*

* These five, *Anaximander, Anaximenes Thales, Anaxagoras, Archelaus*, by continuall desent succeding one another, compleat the *Ionick* Sect; * *Plut. Laert.*

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THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.

The Third Part.

Containing the *Socratick* Philosophers.

LONDON,
Printed for *Humphrey Moseley*, and *Thomas Dring*, and are to be sold at their shops at the *Princes Armes* in St. *Pauls* Church-yard, and at the *George* in Fleetstreet neere *Cliffords Inne*. 1655.

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SOCRATES.

CHAP. I.

Socrates, his Country, Parents, and time of birth.

SOcrates was by Country an *Athenian*, borne at *Alopece*, a towne, according to *Suidas* and *Phavorinus*, belonging to the *Antiochian* tribe. This was one of those small villages scattered through *Attica*, before *Theseus* reduc'd the people into the walls of a City, which notwithstanding his decree, were not deserted, but continued and preserved by their Inhabitants. Laert.

His Parents were very meane; * *Sophroniscus* (an * *Athenian*) his Father, * a statuary, or carver of Images in stone, *Phænareta* his mother a Midwife, a woman of a bold, generous & quick spirit, as is implyd by the character * *Plato* gives her (though wrested by * *Athenæus*) of which professions of his Parents, he is * observed to have been so farre from being asham'd, that hee often tooke occasion to mention them. * Laert. Plat. Theæt. Alcib. * Liban. * Laert. λιθοξόος. Val. Max. marmorarius. * Theætet. * Deipnos. 5. * Liban. Apol.

* *Apollodorus*, *Laertius* and *Suidas* affirme he was borne in the fourth yeare of the 77. Olympiad, which may likewise be collected from the marble at *Arundel House*, which saith, *he dyed when Laches was Archon*, and reckons 70. *yeares* of his life, which was compleat, because * *Plato* sayes πλείω ἑβδομηκόντα, and from * *Demetrius Phalereus* (who was himselfe archon the fourth yeare of the 117. Olympiad,) who saith, *he dyed the first yeare of the* 95. *Olympiad*, when he had lived 76 *yeares*, the 70. yeare inclusively upwards, is the fourth of the 77 Olympiad, when *Apsephion*, (or, as some call him *Aphepsion*) was Archon, of whose name in * *Diodorus Siculus* no more is left then * φαί⊖, which should be ἀψαί⊖, but hath been incuriously alter'd into φάιδρ⊖, which if * *Meursius* had observed, he had not corrected *Laertius* without cause, nor he and * *Allatius* follow'd the mistake of *Scaliger* (whom they terme *Anonymus*) in placing *Aphepsion* in the fourth yeare of the 74. Olympiad. * Apolog. * Laert. * Lib. 11. * Archont. 2. 7. * Dialog. de script. Socr.

The day of *Socrates* birth, was * according to *Apollodorus*, the sixt of the month *Thargelion*, memorable (saith *Laertius*) for the birth of *Diana* according to the traditions of the *Delians*; upon which day the *Athenians* did yearely lustrate their City. Many other good fortunes happening to the *Athenians* upon this day are recorded by * *Ælian*. The day following, viz. the seventh * Laert. * Var. hist. 2.

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of this month was the birthday of *Plato*, both which were kept with much solemnity by the Greek Philosophers, (*even to the time of *Plotinus*) as is affirmed by *Plutarch*, who thereupon observes it as the effect rather of Providence, then of chance, that their birth-daies should be so near, and that of the Master precede the Scholer's.

* *Porphyr. vit. Plut.*
* *Sympos.* 8. 1.

To accommodate this time with our accompt, is neither easie nor certain, yet in respect it may give some satisfaction by way of conjecture, we shall found it upon these hypotheses, taking that order of months which *Petavius* gives.

1. That after the Olympiads the beginning of the Grecian year was alwaies on the first of *Hecatombæon*, and Olympick games on the 15th.

2. That the Neomenia of *Hecatombæon*, did (at least in the times wherein we enquire) never precede the solstice, being then about the Calends, or *pridie Calendarum Julij*, they supposing them in *octavis signorum*, it did not precede the ninth of *July*. This *postulatum*, though it be doubly question'd by *Petavius*, yet none of his Argumen ts pretend beyond *Meton's* time.

3. That upon that supposition, if *Scaliger* hath rightly order'd the Neomenia in his Olympick period (against which *Petavius* brings no one sufficient Argument) and consequently the rest, the Olympick period doth certainly exhibi t the Neomenia of *Hecatombæon*. It is true that *Petavius* disputes the period of 76 years, as having never been used till *Calippus* his time, but we take it here onely proleptically, as the Julian year, to which we would accomodate it.

4. That this being after *Solon's* time, the Civill year was Lunary (and consisted of months, which were alternately of 29. and 30. daies,) at *Athens*, though diverse places of *Greece*, especially the more remote from thence, did not for a long time after part with their tricenary months.

These things supposed the sixt of *Thargelion*, (will according to the Julian accompt taken proleptically) fall upon Tuesday the twentieth of *May*: according to the Gregorian, upon Tuesday the thirtieth of *May*, in the year of the Julian period, 4247. before the Incarnation 467. years, the fourth year of the 77. Olympiad, at what time *Socrates* was born.

CHAP.

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CHAP. II.

His first Education.

Plutarch saith, that as soon as he was born, *Sophroniscus* his Father consulting the Oracle, was by it advis'd to suffer his Son to do what hee pleas'd, never compelling him to doe what he disliked, nor diverting him from that whereto he was enclined; to give thanks for him by Sacrifice to *Jupiter Agoræus* and the Muses; to be no further sollicitous for him, he had one guide of his life within him, better then five hundred masters. * De Gen. Socr.

But his Father not observant of the Oracle's direction, apply'd him to his own trade of carving Statues, contrary to his inclination, whereupon * some have argu'd him of disobedience, reporting that often times, when his Father bad him work, he refused, and went away following his own will. * *Aristoxenus apud Theodoret. de Græc. affect. cur lib. 12.*

His Father dying, left him (according to * *Libanius*) four score minæ, which being entrusted with a friend for improvement, they miscarried. This losse (though it were of all his stock, and he thereby reduc'd to incredible poverty) *Socrates* past over with silence, but was thereupon necessitated to continue his trade for ordinary subsistence. * This *Suidas* intimates when he saith he was first a Statuary. * *Duris*, * *Pausanias*, and the * Scholiast of *Aristophanes* affirm three statues of the Graces cloathed, (for so they were most antiently made, not naked) set up before the entrance into the Tower at *Athens*, were his work. *Pausanias* implieth as much of a statue of *Mercury* in the same place; which * *Pliny* seems not to have understood, who saith, they were made by a certain person named *Socrates*, but not the painter. Hence *Timon*, * *Apol. Soc.* * *Laert.* * *Lib. 9.* * *In nub.* * *36. 5.*

From these the fluent statuary came
Honour'd through Greece, *who did against the name*
Of Orator abusively declaim.

But being naturally averse from this profession, hee onely follow'd it when necessity enforc'd him: *Aristoxenus* saith, he wrought for money, and laid up what he got till it came to a little stock, which being spent, hee betook himself again to the same course.

These intermissions of his Trade were bestowed upon Philosophy; whereunto he was naturally addicted, which being observed by *Crito* a rich Philosopher of *Athens*, * hee took him from his shop, being much in love with his candor and ingenuity, and instructed, or rather gave him the means to be instructed by others; taking * so much care of him, that he never * *Laert.* * *Laert. vit. Crit.*

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suffer'd him to want neceſſaries. And though his poverty were at firſt ſo great as to be brought by * ſome into a Proverb, yet he became at laſt, as * *Demetrius* affirms, Maſter of a houſe, and fourſcore minæ, which *Crito* put out to intereſt: But *his mind* (ſaith * *Libanius*) *was raiſed far above his fortune, and more to the advantage of his Country; not aiming at wealth, or the acquiſition thereof by ſordid arts, he conſidered that of all things which man can call his, the ſoul is the chief; That he onely is truly happy who puriſies that from vice; That the onely means, conducing thereto is wiſdom, in purſuit whereof he neglecteth all other naies of profit and pleaſure.*

* Ælian. var. hiſt. 2. Plut. de util. virtut.
* Plutarch. comparat. vit. Ariſtid. & Caton.
* Apolog.

CHAP. I.

His Maſter.

* Laert.

THE firſt Maſter of *Socrates* was * *Anaxagoras*, whereby amongſt other circumſtances it is demonſtrable, that the accompt of *Laertius* is corrupt, *Anaxagoras* not dying in the 78. but 88. Olympiad.

* Cic. Tuſc. queſt. 5.
* Laert.

Ariſtoneus ſaith, that as ſoon as *Anaxagoras* left the City, he applyed himſelf to * *Archelaus*, which according to *Porphyrius* was in the 17. year of his age. * Of him he was much belov'd, and travell'd with him to *Samos*, to *Pytho*, and to the *Iſtmus*.

He was Scholar likewiſe to *Damon*, whom *Plato* calls a moſt pleaſing teacher of Muſick, and all other things that he would teach himſelf, to young men. *Damon* was Scholar to *Agathocles*, Maſter to *Pericles*, *Clinias* and others; intimate with *Prodicus*. He was baniſh'd by the unjuſt * *Oſtraciſm* of the Athenians for his excellence in Muſick.

* Plat.

* Plat. Men.

He heard alſo (* as he acknowledgeth) *Prodicus* the Sophiſt a *Cian*, whom *Euſebius* rankes in the 86. Olympiad, contemporary with *Gorgias*, *Hippias*, and *Hippocrates* the Phyſician.

To theſe adde *Diotyma* and *Aſpaſia*, women excellently learned, the firſt ſuppos'd to have been inſpir'd with a propheticall ſpirit. By her hee affirmeth that he was inſtructed concerning love, by corporeall Beauty to find out that of the ſoul's of the Angelicall minds of God. See *Plato's Phædrus*, and that long diſcourſe in his Sympoſium upon this ſubject, which *Socrates* confeſſeth to be owing to her.

Aſpaſia was a famous Mileſian woman, not onely excellent her ſelf in Rhetorick, but brought many Scholers to great perfection in it, of whom were *Pericles* the Athenian, and (* as himſelf acknowledgeth) *Socrates*.

* Plat. menex.

* Maxim. Tyr.
* Plat. Theætet.
* Schol. Ariſtoph in Nub.
* Epiſt. 9. 12.

* Of *Euenus* he learn'd Poetry, of *Ichomachus*, Husbandry, of * *Theodorus* Geometry.

* *Ariſtagoras* a Melian, is named likewiſe as his Maſter.

Laſt in his Catalogue is *Connus*, * *nobiliſſimus fidicen*, as *Cice-*

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ro termes him, which art *Socrates* learn'd of him in his old age,* for which the boyes derided *Connus*, and called him the old mans Master. * *Quintil.* I. 10. * *Plat. Euthyd.*

CHAP. IV.

Of his School, and manner of Teaching.

THat *Socrates* had a proper School, may be argu'd from *Aristophanes*,* who derides some particulars in it, and calls it his *Phrontisterium*. * *Nub.*

* *Plato* and * *Phædrus* mention as places frequented by him and his Auditors, the *Academy*, *Lycæum*, *and a pleasant meadow without the City on the side of the River* Ilissus, *where grew a very fair plane-tree. Thence according to the fable*, Boreas *snatch'd away* Orithia, *to whom three furlongs from thence there was a Temple, and another to* Diana. * *Phædr.* * *Epist. Socratic.*

* *Xenophon* affirms *he was continually abroad, that in the morning he visited the places of publick walking and exercise; when it was full, the Forum; and the rest of the day he sought out the most populous meetings, where he disputed openly for every one to hear that would.* * *Memor.* I.

He did not onely teach, saith * *Plutarch when the benches were prepar'd, and himself in the Chair, or in set hours of reading and discourse, or appointments of walking with his friends, but even when he played, when he eat or drank, when he was in the camp or market, finally when he was in prison, thus he made every place a school of vertue.* * *Utrum sen. ger. resp.*

His manner of teaching was answerable to his opinion, that the soul præexistent to the body, in her first separate condition, endewed with perfect knowledge, by immersion into matter, became stupified, and in a manner lost; untill awakned by discourse from sensible objects; whereby by degrees she recovers her first knowledge, for this reason he taught onely by *Irony* and *Induction*: the first * *Quintilian* defines *an absolute dissimulation of the will more apparent then confest, so as in that, the words are different from the words, in this, the sense from the speech, whilest the whole confirmation of the cause, even the whole life seems to carry an Irony, such was the life of* Socrates, *who was for that reason called* εἴρων; *that is, one that personates an unlearned man, and is an admirer of others as wise.* * *In this Irony* (saith *Cicero*) *and dissimulation he far exceeded all men in pleasantnesse & urbanity; it is a very elegant, sweet and facete kind of speech, acute with gravity, accommodated with Rhetorick words, and pleasant speeches;* * *He detracted from himself in dispute, and attributed more to those hee meant to confute, so that when he said, or thought another thing, he freely used that dissimulation which the Greeks call* Irony, *which* Annius *also saith, was in* Africanus. * *Lib. 9. cap. 2.* * *De orat. 2.* * *Cicer. Acad. quæst. 4.*

Induction is by * Cicero *defin'd a manner of discourse, which gaines the assent of him with whom it is held, to things not doubtfull, by which assents* * *De invent. I.*

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assents it causeth that he yeeld to a doubtfull thing, by reason of the likenesse it hath to those things whereunto he assented: this kind of speech Socrates *most used, because he would not himselfe use any argument of perswasion, but rather chose to work something out of that which he granted him with whom he disputed, which he, by reason of that which he already yeelded unto, must necessarily approve; of which he gives a large example in* Plato's *Meno. Thus, whosoever disputed with him of what subject soever (his end being only to promote vertue) was at last brought round about to give an account of his life past and present, whereinto being once entered, he never gave him over till he had sufficiently examined those things, and never let them go (* Proteus *like) till they came at last to themselves.*

* Plat. Lach.
* Liban. Apol.
* Plat. Euthyphr.

For this reason * he used to say, his skill had some affinity with that of his mother, he being like a Midwife, though barren (as he modestly affirms) in himselfe, endeavoured with a particular gift in assisting others, to bring forth what they had within themselves; * and this was one reason why he refused to take mony, affirming, that he knew nothing himselfe, and that *he was never Master to any.

* Plat. Theætet.
Plutarch. quæst. Platon. 1.
* Schol. Aristoph. in nub. p. 129.
* Plat. Apol.

These disputes of *Socrates* were committed to writing by his Schollers, wherein *Xenophon gave example to the rest, in doing it first, as also with most punctualnesse, as *Plato* with most liberty, intermixing so much of his own, as it is not easie to distinguish the Master from the Scholar; *whence *Socrates* hearing him recite his *Lysis*, said, how many things doth this young man feign of me? And *Xenophon *denying* Socrates *ever disputed of heaven, or of naturall causes, or the other disciplines, which the Greeks call μαθήματα saith they, who ascribe such dissertations to him, lye falsely, wherein (as* * *Agellius* observes) *he intends* Plato, *in whose books* Socrates *discourseth of Naturall Philosophy, Musick, and Geometry.*

* Laert. vit. Xenoph.
* Laert. vit. Plat.
* Epist. ad Æschin.
* 14. 3.

CHAP. V.

Of his Philosophy.

POrphyrius (who was so abusive, as * *Nicephorus* observes, that he traduced *Socrates* with no lesse bitternesse, then as if he endeavoured to outdoe his accusers, *Anytus* and *Melitus*) affirmes; **He was ingenious in nothing, unlearned in all, scarce able to write, which when upon any occasion he did, it was to derision, and that he could read no better then a stammering schoole-boy:* To which we shall oppose these Authorities: *Xenophon* who attests he was excellent in all kinds of learning, instanceth in Arithmetick, Geometry, and Astrology; *Plato*, in Naturall Philosophy; *Idomeneus*, in Rhetorick; *Laertius*, in Medicine: In a word, *Cicero* averres, that *by the testimony of learned men, and the judgment of all* Greece,

* Histor. eccles. 10. 36.
* Theodoret.

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Greece, *as well in wisdome, acuteneſſe, politeneſſe, and ſubtlety, as in eloquence, varietie, and copieuſneſſe, to what ſoever part he gave himſelfe, he was without exception Prime of all.*

Having ſearched into all kinds of Science, he obſerved theſe inconveniences and imperfections: *First, That it was improper to leave thoſe affaires which concern mankind, to enquire into things without us. Secondly, That theſe things are above the reach of man, whence are occaſioned all diſputes and oppoſitions, ſome acknowledging no God, others worſhipping ſtocks and ſtones; ſome aſſerting one ſimple being, others infinite; ſome that all things are moved, others, that all things are immovable. And Thirdly, that theſe things, if attained, could not be practiſed, for he who contemplating divine myſteries, enquires by what neceſſity things were made, cannot himſelfe make any thing, or upon occaſion produce winds, waters, ſeaſons, or the like.

* Xen. mem. l. pag. 710.

Thus eſteeming ſpeculative knowledge as far only as it conduceth to practice, he cut off in all ſciences what he conceived of leaſt uſe: * In *Arithmetick*, he approved only as much as was neceſſary (* *Plato* inſtanceth in Merchandiſe and Tacticks) but to proceed to uſeleſſe operations he diſallowed. In *Geometry* he allowed that part which teacheth meaſuring, as no leſſe eaſie then uſefull; but to proceed to infinite propoſitions and demonſtrations he diſallowed, as wholly unprofitable. In *Aſtrology* he approved the knowledge of the Starres, and obſervation of the night, months, and ſeaſons, as being eaſily learned, and very beneficiall in Navigation, and to thoſe who hunt by night; but to examine the difference of ſphears, diſtance of ſtarres from the earth, and their circles, he diſſwaded as uſeleſſe.

* Xenoph. mem. 4. * De leg.

* Finally, *noting how little advantage ſpeculation brought to the life and converſation of mankind, he reduced her to action. He firſt,* ſaith * *Cicero, called Philoſophy away from things involved by nature in ſecrecy, wherein, untill his time, all Philoſophers had been employed, and brought her to common life, to enquire of vertues and vices, good and evill.*

* Laert. * Acad. quæſt. 1.

Man, who was the ſole ſubject of his Philoſophy, having a twofold relation of divine ſpeculation, and human converſation, his Doctrines were in the former reſpect *Metaphyſicall*, in the latter *Morall.*

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Sect. 1. *Metaphysicks.*

HIs Metaphysicall opinions are thus collected and abridged out of *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Plutarch*, and others:

Plat. Phæd. "Philosophy is the way to true happinesse, the offices whereof are two, to contemplate God, and to abstract the soul from "corporeall sense.

Plutarch. plac. phil. 1. 3. "There are three principles of all things, *God*, *matter*, and "*Ideas*, *God* is the universall intellect, *matter* the first subject of "generation and corruption; *Idea* an incorporeall substance, "the intellect of God; God the intellect of the world.

Plat. Phæd. "God is one τὸ ἓν αὐτῶ ἕκαστον ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦδε, αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν εἶναι; perfect in himselfe, giving the being, and well being of every "creature; what he is (saith he) I know not, what he is not I know.

*Xen. memor. 1. * That "God, not chance, made the world, and all creatures, "is demonstrable from the reasonable disposition of their "parts, as well for use as defence, from their care to preserve "themselves, and continue their species, that he particularly "regards man in his body, from the excellent upright form "thereof, from the gift of speech, from allowance τὰς τούτων διαγνώσεις ἑκάστοις αὐτοῖς ἐμποιεῖν in his soule, from the excellency "thereof above others in both for divinations, predicting dangers; that he regards particulars, from his care of the "whole species; that he will reward such as please him, and "punish such as displease him from his power to do it, from "the belief he hath imprinted in a man that he will do it; "profest by the most wise and civilized Cities and ages; that "he at once seeth all things, from the instances of the eye, "which at once over-runs many miles, and of the mind, which "at once considereth things done in the most distant places. "Finally, that he is such, and so great, as that he at once sees "all, hears all, is every where, and orders all. This is the sum of his discourse with *Aristodemus*, to which we may annex what is cited under his name (if not mistaken) by *Stobæus*,

Care, if by care ought may effected be,
If not, why car'st thou, when God cares for thee?

*Xen. memor. 1. page 711. * He held, that "the Gods knew all things, said, done, or "silently desired.

*Xen. memor. 4. * That "God takes care of all creatures, is demonstrable "from the benefits he gives them of light, water, and fire, seasonable production of fruits of the earth; that he hath particular care of man, from the nourishment of all plants and "creatures for mans service, from their subjection to man, though

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"though they excused him never so much in strength, from "the variety of mans sense, accommodated to the variety of "objects, for necessity, use, and pleasures from reason, where- "by he discoursed through reminiscence, from sensible ob- "jects, from speech, whereby he communicates all that he "knows, gives lawes, & governs states; that God, notwithstan- "ding he is invisible, hath a being from the instances of his "Ministers, invisible also, as thunder and wind, from the soule "of man which hath something with the divine nature in go- "verning those that cannot see it. This is the effect of his dis- "course with *Euthidemus*.

"The Soule is immortall, for what is alwaies moveable is "immortall; but that which moveth another, or is moved by "an other, hath a cessation of motion and life. *Schol. Aristoph. in nub. p. 128.*

"The soule is præexistent to the body, endued with know- "ledge of eternall Ideas, which in her union to the body she "loseth, as stupified, untill awakened by discourse from sen- "sible objects. Thus is all her learning only reminiscence, a re- "covery of her first knowledge.

"The body being compounded is dissolved by death, the "soule being simple, passeth into another life, incapable of "corruption. *Plat. Phæd.*

"The soules of men are divine, to whom, when they go out "of the body, the way of their return to heaven is open, which "to the best and most just is the most expedite. *Cic. de amicit.*

"The soules of the good after death, are in a happy estate, "united to God in a blessed inaccessible place; the bad, in con- "venient places, suffer condign punishment; but to define "what those places are, is *hominis non ultra*; whence being "demanded what things were in the other world, he answe- "red, neither was I ever there, nor ever did I speak with any "that came from thence. *Plat. Phæd.* *Stob. Eth. 250.*

Sect. 2. *Ethicks.*

HIs moralls, consider a man either as a single person, or as the father of a family, or as a member of the common-wealth; In the first respect are his Ethicks, wherein such sentences as have been preserved by *Xenophon*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Stobæus*, and others, are thus collected.

Of vertue and vice.

HE exhorted his friends to "Endeavour to be the most "wise and beneficiall, because, what wants reason, wants "respect, as the bodies of dead friends, and hair, nailes, and the like, which are cut off and cast away. *Xen. mem. 1. p. 720.*

"To

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Xen mem. 1. p. 720. "To be employed is good and beneficiall, to be idle hurtfull "and evill: they that do good are imployed, they that ſpend their time in vain recreations are idle.

Xen. mem. 3. p. 778. "He that hath moſt advantage by gifts of nature, as well as "he that hath leaſt, muſt learn and meditate on thoſe things

Xen. mem. 3. p. 779. "wherein he would be excellent.

Xen. mem. 3. p. 78. "He only is idle who might be better imployed.

"To do good, is the beſt courſe of life, therein fortune hath "ſhare.

Xen. mem. 3. p. 780. "They are beſt, and beſt pleaſing to God, who do any thing, "with any art or calling; who followeth none, is uſeleſſe to "the publick, and hated of God.

* Clem. Alex. Strom. 2. 417. *He taught every where, "that a juſt man and a happy "were all one, and uſed "to curſe him who firſt by opinion Cicer. de offic. 3. & de leg. 1. "divided honeſty and profit (* which are coherent by Nature) as having done an impious act, for they are truly wicked who ſeparate profitable and juſt, which depends on law. The Stoicks have followed him ſo far, that whatſoever is honeſt, the ſame they eſteem profitable.

Plut. de amicor. multit. p. 93. He asked *Memnon*, a Theſſalian, who thought himſelfe very learned, and that he had reached (as *Empedocles* ſaith) the top of wiſdome, "what is vertue? He anſwered readily and boldly, that "there is one vertue of a child, another of an old "Man, one of a Man, another of a Woman, one of a Magiſtrate, another of a private Perſon, one of a Maſter, another "of a Servant. Very good, replies *Socrates*: I ask for one vertue, "and you give us a whole ſwarm; truly conceiving, that he knew not one vertue, who named ſo many.

Plut. de lib. educ. Being demanded by *Gorgias* "If he accounted not the great "King of *Perſia* happy? I know not, anſwered he, how he is "furniſhed with learning and vertue: as conceiving that true happineſſe conſiſteth in theſe two, not in the frail gifts of fortune.

Laert. *Euripides* in his Auge ſaying of vertue; "It is beſt careleſſely to part with theſe; he roſe up and went away, ſaying, "It was "ridiculous to ſeek a loſt ſervant, or to ſuffer vertue ſo to go away.

Laert. He ſaid, "he wondered at thoſe who carve Images of ſtone,

Laert. "that they take ſuch care to make ſtones reſemble men, whilſt

Laert. "they neglect, and ſuffer themſelves to reſemble ſtones.

* What μωρία μωρὸν means, is explained by Ariſtotle, polit. 5. 3. & phyſic. 5. 4. He adviſed "young men to behold themſelves every day "in a glaſs, that if they were beautifull, they might ſtudy to "deſerve it; if deformed, to ſupply or hide it by learning.

* Clem. Alex. ſtrom. 5. He ſaid, "to begin well is not a ſmall thing, * but depending on a ſmall moment.

He ſaid, "vertue was the beautie, vice the deformity of the "ſoul.

*He

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He said, "outward beauty was a sign of inward beauty, and "therefore chose such Auditors. * Nonn in Greg. Stelicut.

"In that life of man as in an Image every part ought be "beautifull. Stob. Ecb. serm. 1.

"Incense to God, praise is due to good men. Stob. 1.

"Who are undeservedly accused ought to be defended, who "excell others in any good quality to be praised, Stob. 1.

"A Horse is not known to be good by his furniture, but "qualities, a man by his mind, not wealth. Stob. 1:

"It is not possible to cover fire with a garment, sinne with "time. Stob. 37.

Being demanded *who live without perturbation?* hee answered, *they who are conscious to themselves of no ill.* Stob. 46.

To one who demanded *what Nobility is*, he answered, *a good temper of soul and body.* Stob. 218.

Of affections, Love, Envy, Grief, Hope, &c.

THat "two brothers God meant should be more helpfull "to each other then two hands, feet, eyes, or whatsoever "nature hath formed; doubtlesse because if they love, they may "great distance mutually help one another is the scope of his discourse with *Charecrates.* Xenop. mem 2.

That "all things are good and fair to those things where- "with they agree, but ill and deformed in respect of those "things with which they agree not, is the conclusion of his se- "cond discourse with *Aristippus.* Xen. mem. 3.

"Envy is a grief, not at the adversity of friends, nor the "prosperity of Enemies, but at the prosperity of friends; for "many are so foolishly enclined as to maligne those in good "fortune, whom in misfortune they pittied. Xen. mem. 3.

"A ship ought not to trust to one Anchor, nor life to one "hope. Stob 1.

"To ground hopes on an ill opinion is to trust a ship to a slight "anchor. Stob. 16.

"The beauty of fame is blasted by envy as by a sickness. Stob. 139.

"Many adorn the tombes of those, whom living, they perse- "cuted with envy. Stob. 139.

"Envy is the saw of the soul. Stob. 139.

"Nothing is pleasant or unpleasant by nature but by "custom. Stob. 144.

"Unseasonable love is like hate. Stob. 215.

Being demanded, "what is grievous to the good, he answe- "red, the prosperity of the wicked. Stob. 240.

Being demanded "how a man might live without trouble, "he answered, it was not possible but that he who lives in a "City or a Family must somtimes be afflicted. Stob. 240.

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Stob. 258. "Wicked hopes like ill guides deceive a man and lead him into sin.

Stob. 262. "A woman cannot conceive without a man, nor a good hope "produce any benefit without labour.

Stob. 269. "Winter had need of garments, old age of disingagement "from grief.

Stob. 892. "In life as in a Theater, wee should continue so long as the "sight of things, and actions of life seem delightfull.

Xen. mem. 1. p. 719. "The mad should be bound, the ignorant instructed.

Xen. mem. 2. That "we should endeavour to shun the censorious, and to "apply our selves to such as are candid; that wee should un- "dertake onely such things as we can perform, and decline "such as we cannot; that whensoever we undertake any "thing, we should employ therein our utmost study and en- "deavour, is the sum of his advise to *Eutherus*.

Xen. mem. 3. He said, "the office of a wise man is to discern what is good "and honest, and to shun that which is dishonest.

Xen. mem. 3. "They who know what they ought to do, and do it not, are "not wise and temperate, but fooles and stupid.

Xen. mem. 3. "Justice and every other virtue is wisdom.

Xen. mem. 3. "To be ignorant of our selves, to seem to know those things "wherof we are ignorant, is next to madnesse.

Xen. mem. 4. That "a pious person is rightly defined, such a one as knows "what is lawfull as to the gods a just, he that knowes what is "lawfull as to men, that a man is wise as far as he knows, that "what is profitable is fair to that whereto it is profitable, that "they who know how to use terrible things and dangerous "are valiant, the contrary timerous, is the sum of his discourse "with *Euthydamas*.

Cicer. He conceived "the onely wisdom of man to consist in not "thinking he understands those things which he doth not "understand.

Senec. Epist. 1. 103. To one that complained he had not benefited himself by travell, *and not without reason* saith he, *because thou didest travell with thy self.*

Laert. He affirmed "there is but one good thing, knowledge, one "ill, ignorance, but that riches and nobility had nothing in "them of worth, but on the contrary all evills.

Stob. 1. "When a wise man openeth his mouth the virtues of his "are manifested as Images in a Temple.

Stob. 28. & 42. "In navigation wee ought to be guided by the Pilot in the "course of life by those of better judgement.

Stob. 28. Being demanded what wisdom was, he answered, *the com- posure of the Soul*, being demanded who were wise, they saith he, *who not easily erre.*

Stob. 28. "The souls reason augmenteth it self as in a play, the wisest

"not

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"not the richeſt ought to bear the prize.

"Fugitives fear though not purſued, fooles though not in "adverſity are troubled. Stob. 32.

Seeing a young man rich and unlearned, *behold* (ſaith he) *a golden ſlave.* Stob. 32.

"The luxurious is hardly cured in ſickneſſe, the fool in ad- "verſity. Stob. 32.

"The coward uſeth armes againſt himſelf, the fool money. Stob. 32.

"*Achilles* armour fits not *Therſites*, nor the good habits of the "ſoul a fool. Stob. 32.

"Be not forward in ſpeech, for many times the tongue hath "cut off the head. Stob. 87.

"In war, ſteel is better then gold, in life, wiſdom excelleth "wealth. Stob. 211.

Of Piety and Obedience.

THat the "greateſt of vices is ingratitude of obligations "that to Parents, that a diſobedient Son the Gods will "not bleſſe: nor men love as doubting his return of either, "knowing he doth it not where ſo much is due; is the ſum of "his diſcourſe with *Apiles*. Xen. mem. 2.

"Our prayers ſhould be for bleſſings in generall, for God "knows beſt what is good for us, our offerings proportioned to "our abilities, for he conſiders integrity, not munificence. Xen. mem. l. 722. 4. 804.

He ſaid (with the Pythian Oracle) that "the Gods are to be "worſhipped according to the Law of the City where a man "lives, they who do otherwiſe, he thought ſuperſtitious and "vain. Xen. mem. 1. 722.

"The beſt way of worſhipping God, is to do what he com- "mands. Xen. mem. 4. 803.

"Superſtition is obedient to pride as its parent. Stob. 43.

"A harſh Father like a ſevere law, muſt not withſtanding be "obeyed. Stob. 193.

"The reproof of a Father is a kind remedy; it brings more "eaſe then pain. Stob. 201.

Of fortitude and imbecillity.

THat "a man ought to inure himſelf to voluntary labour & "ſufferance, ſo as what ſhall be impoſed by neceſſity may "appear in him not compulſive but free, that ſoft waies of li- "ving, in pleaſures beget no good conſtitution of "body, nor knowledge of the mind; That tolerance raiſeth us "to high attempts is the effect of his diſcourſe with *Ariſtip-* "*pus*. Xen. mem. 1.

To

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Xen.mem. 3. To one who was fearfull to go so far on foot as *Olympia*, *he demonstrated* (to make the journey seem easie) *that it was no more then his daily walk within doors, if extended at length, would easily reach.*

* Xen. mem. 3. *One that complained he was weary of a journey, "he "reproved him for being more weary then his servant that fol- "lowed him laden.

Plut. consol. ad Apollon. He said, "death resembled either a deep sleep, or a long jour- "ney out of our Native Country, or an absolute annihilation "of soul and body, examining all which he affirmed, death to "be in none of those respects evill; as to the first, saith *Plutarch*, "it is not ill with those that sleep; and wee esteem that sleep "sweetest which is deepest; as if we look on it as a journey, it is "rather a blessing, for thereby we are freed from the slavery "and affections of the flesh which possesse and infatuate the "mind; in the last respect, it makes us insensible of ill and pain, "as well as of good and pleasure.

Stob. 1. & 296. "A statue stands firm on its base, a vertuous man on firm re- "solutions.

Stob. 5. "Voluntary labours are delighted with assurance of ease; "idlenesse, and transitory pleasures beget neither a good con- "stitution of body, nor any good habit in the Soule.

* Stob. 48. *Being demanded "what is strength? he answered, the "motion of the soul with the body.

* Stob. 49. "Seeing the gates of *Corinth* strongly barr'd, he asked, "dwell "women here?

Stob. 269. "An honest death, is better then a dishonest life.

Ælian. var. hist. He used to say, "liberty is sister to sloth, instancing in the "Indians and Persians, both lazy; the Phrygians and Lydians "very industrious, as being under servitude.

Of Temperance, Continence, and Contentednesse.

Xen. mem. 1. HE advised "to shun all occasions of incontinence, affirm- "ing that such as conversed much with fair women "could not easily be continent.

Xen. mem. 1. "That "the sight and kisses of the fair, infuse a poison more "dangerous then that of Scorpions and Spiders, is the sum of "his discourse to *Xenophon* and *Critobulus*.

Xen. mem. 1. That "a free man ought not to entertain a servant addicted "to pleasures, that he which is slave to pleasures, should pray "to the gods for better Masters, is the conclusion of his dis- "course *de continentia*.

Xen. mem. 1. That "happinesse consists not in luxury and pride, that to "want nothing is divine, to want the least next to divine, is the the conclusion of his discourse with *Antipho*.

"He

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"He advised such as could not easily abstain at feasts, to take "heed of such things as perswade those that are not hungry "to eat, and those that are not thirsty to drink, for they de- "stroyed the appetite, the head, and the soul. He used to say merrily, "*Circe* turned men into Swine, by feasting them with "such meats, but that *Ulysses*, partly through *Minerva's* advice, "partly through his own temperance, refraining from such "things, remained unchanged. *Xen. mem.* 3.

That "health of body ought diligently to be preserved, as "that whereon all knowledge of the soule dependes. Is the summe of his discourse with *Epigenes*. *Xen. mem.* 3.

He advised one that complained, he took no delight in his meat, "to refrain from eating, whereby his diet would become "more pleasant, cheap, and wholesome. *Xen. mem.* 3.

In the word ἐυτέλεια (*to feast*) the particle ἐυ implies, "that "we should eat only such things as will not hurt the mind nor "the body, and are easie to be gotten. *Xen. mem.* 3.

That "only temperate persons, that discern and choose the "best things, refraining from the worst; that by temperance "men become the most excellent, and most happy, fittest for "discourse: is the summe of his discourse with *Euthidemus*. *Xen. mem.* 4.

Hearing one of his friends say, "this Town is exceeding "deer, Chiar wine costs a Mina, purple three, a pint of honey "five Denaries; he carried him to the Meal-men, hear, saith "he, a pint is sold for an obolus; it is cheap living in this "Town: then to those that sold Olives, a Chænix two far- "things; thence to the frippery, a Suit ten Drachmes: things "are cheap in this Town. *Plut. de anim. tranquill.*

He said, "the hungry wanted no sauce, the thirsty no choice "of wines. *Laert.*

He commended "quiet and leasure above all things. *Laert.*

He said, "they who buy early fruits at dear rates, believe "they will not come in their due season. *Laert.*

Being asked what was a young mans vertue? he answered, "to do nothing too much. *Laert.*

Seeing one eate broth very greedily, he said, "Which of "you here present useth bread for broth, and broth for bread? "Of which, see more at large, *Xenophon* his *Memorab. Lib.* *Laert.*

One saying, that it was a great matter to abstain from what a man desires, he answered, "but it is much a greater not to "desire at all. *Ælian. var. hist.* 9.

"A cleer fire becomes the chimney, serenity the mind. *Stob.* 28.

He said, "We ought not to seek pleasures in others, but in "our selves, the body being predisposed according as it "ought. *Stob.* 37.

He said, "It is the property of God to need nothing, to need "least, nigheſt to God. *Stob.* 37.

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Stob. 37. Being demanded from what things we ought to refrain moſt, he anſwered, "from ſordid unjuſt pleaſures.

Stob. 37. "Contentedneſſe is like a ſhort and pleaſant way, it hath "much delight, little toile.

Stob. 37. "He that would ſee vertue as his Country, muſt paſſe by "pleaſures, as *Syrens*.

Stob. 40. Being demanded whom he thought richeſt, he anſwered, "him who is contented with leaſt; for content is the riches of "Nature.

Stob. 84. Being demanded what continence is, he anſwered, "govern-"ment of corporeall pleaſures.

Stob. 87. He ſaid, "the wicked live to eat, but the good eat to live.

Stob. 183. "When a woman ſaith ſhe loveth thee, take heed of thoſe "words, more then when ſhe revileth thee.

Of Liberality, Prodigality, and Covetouſneſſe.

Xen. mem. 1. HE conceived, that "they who took mony of any, owned "them for their Maſters in the meaneſt degree of ſervi-"tude.

Xen. mem. 1. That "wiſdome is proſtituted as well as beauty, by taking "mony for it; that he who meets with an ingenious perſon, "ought to acquaint him with all the good he can gratis, where-"by he acquires a friend, and doth the part of a good member "of the common-wealth; is the ſumme of his ſecond diſcourſe with *Antipho*.

D. Baſil hom. 24. de legand. lib. gentil. Stob. 28. He ſaid, if a rich man be proud of his wealth, that "he could "not praiſe him, till he knew how he would employ it.

"None can ſafely manage a horſe without a bit, nor riches "without reaſon.

Stob. 54. He compared "covetous perſons to birds, one devoures "what ever it meets till it choakes it ſelfe, the reſt falling upon "what the firſt left, are one after another choaked alſo.

Stob. 55. "The wealth of covetous perſons is like the Sun after he is "ſet, delights none.

Stob. 77. "He that gives to a rich man throwes water into the Sea.

Stob. 78. "The life of a covetous perſon is like the feaſts made for "the dead, he hath all, but enjoyes nothing.

Stob. 230. He compared "the wealth of prodigalls to fig-trees, grow-"ing on a precipice, for theſe, none are the better, but Kites, "and Crowes; for thoſe only harlots and flatterers.

Stob. 230. Being demanded who were covetous, he anſwered, "ſuch as "ſeek after ſordid gain, and neglect their neceſſary friends.

Stob. 231. "Wine changeth with the Veſſell, riches follow the man-"ners of the owner.

Of

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Of Magnanimity and Pride.

TO one angry for having saluted a man that returned not his salutation: "It is ridiculous, saith he, if you are not angry with every one you meet of worse shape or form then "your self, to be angry with any for having lesse manners. Xen. mem. 1. Stob. 43.

"Pride like an ill potter or statuary represents the forms of "things inverted. Stob. 43.

"Wind puffes up empty bladders, opinion fooles. Stob. 245.

"To be exalted with good fortune, is to runne in a slippe-"ry way.

Of Patience.

"THere is lesse danger in drinking intemperately of trou-"bled water, then with a troubled mind full of wrath, Plut. de his qui serò a num. Pun.
"before it be allayed and purified to satisfie thy anger in the "punishment of a kinsman or countryman.

"If every one should bring his misfortunes into a publick Plut. de con-sol. ad Apollon.
"stock to be shar'd alike amongst all men, the greater part of "those that now complain so much, would be contented and "glad to keep their own.

"It is all one if a man being overcome in any gymnick Stob. 256.
"sports should sue his adversary, as for a man over-master'd "by Fortune to accuse her; not knowing upon what conditi-"ons we entered into the contests of life.

Of Veracity and Flattery.

"THere is no better way to glory then to endeavour to be "good, as well as to seem such. *Xen. memor. 1.

"The kindnesse of flatterers is chased away by adversity.

"Hunters take hares with hounds, many take fooles with Stob. 64. Stob. 64.
"their own praises.

"Wolves resemble dogs, and flatterers friends, but their Stob. 64.
"aimes are quite contrary.

"Flattery is like a painted armour, only for show, not use. Stob. 64.

"Think not those faithfull who praise all thy words and Stob. 69.
"actions, but those who reprove thy faults.

"Suffer not a talker and slanderer, for he tells not thee any Stob. 71.
"thing out of good will; but as he discourseth the secrets of "others, so will he thine to others.

"Good men must let the world see that their manners are more firme then an oath. Stob. 114.

Of

Of Vrbanity and Converſation.

Plut. de ſanit. tuend. "A Little Hall will ſerve to dance in, and every place and "poſture to ſpeak.

Stob. 37. "Wind kindles fire, converſation Love.

Stob. 67. "Freedome of diſcourſe like the ſeaſons of the year, is beſt "in its proper time.

Stob. 134. "Its arrogance to ſpeak all, and to be unwilling to hear "any thing.

Stob. 296. "Converſe at diſtance, and ſoftly with thoſe that are in "Authority.

Of Juſtice.

Xen mem. 4. THat "the Gods preſcribe juſt things by law, and that "juſt and lawfull is to them the ſame thing, is the ſumme of his diſcourſe with *Hippias*.

Stob. 52. "They who convert goods ill gotten to good uſes in a com-"mon-wealth, do like thoſe who make religious uſe of ſacri-"ledge.

Of Friendſhip.

Xen. mem. 2. THat "a diſcreet vertuous friend is of all poſſeſſions the "moſt fertile, and ought chiefly to be regarded, is the ſcope of his diſcourſe, *de amicitia*.

Xen. mem. 2. That "every man ſhould examine himſelfe of what value "he is to his friend, and endeavour to be of the moſt worth "he can to him, is the effect of his diſcourſe with *Antiſthenes*.

Xen. mem. 2. That "wicked men cannnot be friends, either amongſt "themſelves, or with the good: That the way to pro-"cure friends is, firſt, to endeavour to be good, wherein he "would ſeem good; that all vertues may be augmented by "ſtudy and learning, is the ſcope of his diſcourſe with *Critobulus*.

Xen. mem. 2. That "we ought to our utmoſt abilities to relieve the ne-"ceſſities of our friends, is the effect of his diſcourſe with *Ariſtarchus*.

Plut. de frat. amore. He ſaid, "he had rather have *Darius* to his friend, then his "*Daricks*, a coyne ſo named from him.

Laert. He wondered that "every man kept an inventory of his "goods, none of his friends.

Stob. 213. "They who violate friendſhip, though they eſcape the pu-"niſhment of their friends, ſhall not eſcape the vengeance of "God.

Stob. 213. "They who forſake their own brethren to ſeek out other friends

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"friends are like those who let their own grounds lie fallow to "till anothers.

"Fear not a friend in adversity. Stob. 213.

"We esteem not that corn best which growes on the fairest Stob. 218.
"ground, but that which nourisheth best, nor him a good per-
"son or friend who is of highest birth, but most noble in quali-
"ties.

"Physicians must relieve the sick, friends the afflicted. Stob. 258.

"Its pleasant to grow old with a good friend and sound Stob. 263.
sense.

Sect. 3. *Oeconomicks.*

IN the second respect are his Oeconomicks, which he learned of *Ischomachus*, by *Xenophon* expressly delivered in a treatise upon that subject, to which adde these few sentences.

So "contrive the building of your house, as that those parts Xen mem. 3.
"which are towards the South may be highest, that the winter
"Sun be not excluded; those towards the North lowest; that
"they may be lesse subject to wind; In fine, so order't that a
"man may live in every quarter thereof with most delight and
"safety: Pictures and colours take away more pleasantness then
"they afford.

To one who beat his servant for gluttonous, covetous, and Xen. mem. 3.
idle, he said, *did you at any time consider whether you deserve not more* p. 7. 88. see more there. Laert.
to be beaten your self?

To one that asked his advice about taking a wife, *whether you* Stob 183.
do or do not saith he, *you will repent it.*

To others that asked his opinion concerning marriage, hee Stob. 183.
said, *As fishes in a net would fain get out, and those without would get in, take heed young men it be not so with you.*

Men must obey the lawes of their Country, wives their husbands. Stob. 193.

Sect. 4. *Politicks.*

IN the 3d. respect are his politicks, wch. *Hesychius Illustrius* makes to be the same which *Plato* hath delivered under this name, where you may have them though disguised with the language and additions of *Plato*, to which may be annexed those sentences of his in that kind out of *Xenophon*, *Stobæus*, and others.

"They who cannot upon occasion be usefull either to an Ar- Xen. mem. 1.
"my, a City, or a Common-wealth; yet have confidence of
"themselves, ought, though never so rich, to be under re-
"straint.

Antipho demanding "how hee might make others skilfull in Xen. mem. 1.
"Politicks whilest himself medled not therein, although hee
"knew that he could manage them, which way saith he *Antipho*,

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"I do most act the business of the Common-wealth, if I practise "it o nely, or if I endeavour to make many able to act therein.

Xen. mem. 3. "That place is fittest for Temples and Altars which is "most open, and yet retired; for it is fitting that they who "pray see, and no lesse fitting that they come thither pure.

Xen. mem. 3. 779. "They are not Kings, who are in possession of a Throne, or "come unjustly by it, but they who know how to govern.

Xenop. mem. 4. 813. "A King is a ruler of willing Subjects according to the Lawes, "a Tyrant is a ruler of subjects against their will, not according "to the Lawes, but arbitrary; an Aristocracy is that govern- "ment wherein the Magistrates are.

Xen. mem. 4. "The offices of a good Cittizen are in peace to enrich the "Common-wealth, in War to subdue the Enemies thereof, in "Embassy to make friends of foes, in sedition to appease the "people by eloquence.

Laert. "Of common people he said, they were as if a man should ex- "cept against one piece of bad money, and except a great sum "of the same.

Clem. Alex. strom. 4. He said, "the Law was not made for the good.

Stob. 141. "Deserving persons ought to bee sharers in the good fortunes "of the Common-wealth.

Stob. 141. Being demanded *what City is strongest?* he said, that *which hath good men.*

Stob. 141. Being demanded *what City is best ordered?* he said, *that wherein the Magistrates friendly agree.*

Stob. 141. Being demanded *what City is best?* he said, *that wherein are proposed most rewards for virtue.*

Stob. 141. Being demanded *what City lives best*, he said, *that which liveth according to law, and punisheth the unjust.*

CHAP. VI.

Of his Dæmon.

* *Sup. cap. 2.* THat *Socrates* had an attendant spirit (meant as *Plutarch* conceives by the * Oracles answer to his Father) which diverted him from dangers, is impugned by *Athenæus*, not without much prejudice, which the bitternesse of the discourse betraies, soules that are not candid, and think ill of the best, saith *Origen*, never refrain from Calumny, seeing that they mock even the Genius of *Socrates* as a feigned thing. On the contrary, we have the testimony of *Plato*, *Xenophon* and * *Antisthenes* contemporary with him, confirmed by *Laertius*, *Plutarch*, *Maximus Tyrius*, *Dion Chrysostomus*, *Cicero*, *Apuleius*, by Fathers, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* and others, whereof a great many instances (as *Cicero* saith) were collected by *Antipater*: these onely preserv'd by other Authors.

* *Apud. Athenæum.*

De divinat. ib. 1.

Theocri-

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Theocritus *going to consult* Euthyphron *a Sooth-sayer, found him with much company walking in the streets, amongst whom were* Simias *and* Socrates, *who was very busie, asking him many questions. In the midst of his discourse he made a suddain stop, and after some pause, turned back and went down another street, calling out to the rest of the company to return and follow him, as being warned by the Dæmon. The greater part did so, the rest went forward, on purpose to confute the Dæmon, and drew along with them one* Charillus *that played on the flute; but in the way which was so narrow, as not to give them room to passe by, they were met and overturn'd in the dirt by a great herd of swine; by repetition of which accident,* Charillus *often afterwards defended the Dæmon.* * Plut. de Gen. Socr.

Nor did the advice of this spirituall attendant onely respect the good of *Socrates*, but extended to such friends as conversed with him, whereof himself gives these instances.

* Charmides *Son of* Glauco, *going to exercise in the Nemean race, as he was discoursing with* Socrates, *was by him upon notice of the voice dissuaded from going, to which he answered, that perhaps the voice onely meant that he should not get the victory, but, said he, however I shall advantage myself by exercising at this time, which said, he went to the Games; where he met with some accident, which though it be not related, is acknowledg'd to have justified the counsell given him by the Dæmon.* * Plato. Theag. Ælian var. hist. 8. 1.

Tymarchus *and* Philemon *Son of* Philemonides *having plotted together to murther* Nicias, *Son of* Hircoscomander, *were at the same time drinking with* Socrates. Timarchus *with intention to execute what they had determin'd, offer'd to rise from the table, saying to* Socrates, *well* Socrates, *drink you on, I will but step a little way and return immediately. Rise not said* Socrates, *(hearing the Dæmon as soon as he spake) for the Dæmon hath given me the accustomed sign; whereupon he sate still, presently after he offer'd again to be gone;* Socrates *hearing the voice withheld him. At last, as* Socrates *was diverted by something, and did not mind him, he stole away and committed the murther, for which being brought to execution, his last words to his brother* Glitomachus *were, that he was come to that untimely end for not obeying* Socrates. * Plat. Theag.

Another time, *seeing his friend* Crito's *eie ti'd up, he asked him the reason, who answering, that as he walked in the field, one pulling a bough, it gave a jerk back, and hit him in the eye; Then you did not take my advise, replies* Socrates, *for I call'd you back, making use, as I have accustomed of divine presage.* cic. de divinat. 3.

That it had likewise a great influence upon the soules of those who conversed with him, and liv'd with him, * he alledgeth as examples *Aristides* Son of *Lysimachus*, and *Thucydides* Son of *Melissus*. The first leaving *Socrates* to go to the wars, lost, with his company, the habit of learning, which he acknowledg'd to have gained, not by any verball instructions, of which * Plat. Theag.

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which he had none from him, but by being neer him, seeing him, and sitting in the same room with him: The second as easily, by the same means attained the same habit.

And not only to particular persons, but to generall affairs did these predictions extend: He foretold some friends the defeat of the *Athenian* Army in *Sicily*, as is attested by *Plutarch*, and mentioned by himself in *Plato*, where he gives another fair example, or rather tryall of the truth of the *Dæmons* predictions, speaking of a businesse, whereof the event was at that time doubtfull: * *You will hear*, saith he, *from many in* Sicily, *to whom it is known what I foretold concerning the destruction of the Army, and we may now have an experiment if the* Dæmon *speak true.* Samionus, *son of* Calus *is gone in an expedition, the sign came to me: he goes with* Thrasylus *to war against* Ephesus *and* Jonia: *my opinion is, that he will either be slain, or at least, in much danger, I greatly fear the whole design.* These are his words in *Plato*, delivered as before, the event of that action, which fell out according to his prediction; for * *Thrasylus* was repulsed, and beaten by the Ephesians, the Athenians put to flight, with the losse of foure hundred men; of which Victory the Ephesians erected two trophies. this was in the twentie one year of the Peloponnesian war.

* *Plat. Theag.*

* *Xenoph. hist. Grec. 1.*

We have alledg'd the universall consent of Authors, that *Socrates* had such a spirituall attendant; yet is there some disagreement concerning the name, more concerning the nature of it.

It is commonly named his *Dæmon*, by which title, he himselfe owned it: *Plato* sometimes calls it his *Guardian*, *Apuleius* his God, *because* (saith Saint * *Augustine*) *the name of* Dæmon *at last grew odious*. But we must observe, that he did not account it a God, but sent from God, and in that sence affirmed the signes to come from God, to wit, by mediation of this spirit. This, besides other places we may argue from his first Epistle, where he speaks of the sign it selfe; he useth the word *Dæmon*, when of the advise, whereof that sign was the instrument, he names God. Thus are we to understand these, and all other places of the same nature in *Plato*, where *Socrates* speaking of the *Dæmon* saith, *if it please God, you shall learn much, and the sign from God did not offer to stay me.*

* *De civ. dei. 8. 4.*

As for the signe or manner of the prediction, * some affirme it was *by sneezing, either of himselfe or others; if any chanced to sneeze standing before him, behind him, or on his right hand, he went immediately about that which he intended; if on the left hand, he refrained or desisted: if he sneezed himselfe before the enterprise, it was applausive, if in the action, disswasive.* There needs not much argument to prove this opinion. If this sternutation proceeded either from chance, or his naturall constitution, it could not have that provident supernaturall effect; if it proceeded from some more excellent

* *Plutarch. de gen. Socr.*

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cellent outward cauſe, we recurre to the Genius.

Others confine this preſcience within the ſoule of *Socrates* himſelf, that he ſaid, *his Genius adviſed him*, they interpret it, as we uſually ſay, *his mind gave him, or ſo inclined him:* In this ſenſe indeed *Dæmon* is not ſeldome taken; but this is inconſiſtent with the deſcription which *Socrates* gives of a voice and ſignes, *ab exteriore*, beſides this knowledge is not above humane nature.

Plutarch having exploded the opinion of *Terpſion* concerning ſneezing, conjectured firſt, that it might be ſome apparition; but at laſt concludes, that it was his obſervation of ſome inarculate unaccuſtomed ſound (or voice) conveighed to him by ſome extraordinary way, as we ſee in dreams. This avoids not the inconvenience of the former; if *Socrates* did firſt of himſelfe interpret this ſound, it is the ſame with the laſt opinion, that his ſoule had a Prophetick inſpiration, if by any help, it will come at laſt to the Genius.

Some conceive it to be one of thoſe ſpirits which have the particular care of men; which *Maximus Tyrius*, and *Apuleius* deſcribe in ſuch manner, that they want only the name of a good Angell.

But there want not thoſe who give it that appellation: * *Lactantius* having proved that God ſends Angells to guard mankind, addes, *and* Socrates *affirmed that there was a* Dæmon *conſtantly neer him, which kept him company from a child, by whoſe beck and inſtruction he guided his life. Euſebius* upon theſe words of the Pſalmiſt, *He hath given his Angells charge over thee, that they ſhould keep thee in all thy waies. We learn out of Scripture* (ſaith he) *that every man hath a Guardian appointed him from above; and* Plato *doubteth not to write in this manner: All ſoules having choſen a condition of living, they proceed in order thereunto, being moved by the* Dæmon, *which is proper to every one, and is ſent along with them to preſerve them in this life, and to perfect thoſe things whereof they have made choice.* And immediately after; *You may beleeve*, ſaith he, *that* Socrates *meant this, when he often affirmed that he was governed by a* Dæmon. More plainly * *Eugubinus*, *The* Dæmon *of* Socrates, ſaith he, *mentioned ſo often by* Plato *(ſeeing that* Socrates *was a good man, and exhorted all men to vertue; and by the* Dæmon *was alwaies excited to that which was good) may perhaps not unjuſtly be thought his Angell, as that which appeared to* Balaam *the Prophet, and diverted him from his wickedneſſe.* *But *Ficinus* expreſly; *If you are not pleaſed*, ſaith he, ſpeaking of this ſpirit, *to call the familiar guide of a man his ſpirit, call it, if you pleaſe, his good Angell.*

* *De Orig. error.* 2. 15.

In Pſal. 91.

* *De perenn. philoſ.* 25.

* *Argum. ad Apol. Soc.*

The chiefeſt argument of * *Collius*, who oppoſeth this opinion, and endeavours to prove it was an evill ſpirit, is, that the *Dæmon* never diſſwaded or diverted from vice, but only from outward danger, whereas the contrary is evident enough

* *De anim. pag.* 5. 14.

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from the foregoing ſtory of *Timarchus* and *Philemon*.

True it is, that the advice of the *Dæmon* was alwaies diſſwaſive, *never*, as * *Cicero* ſaith, *impulſive*, *often coercive*. *Apuleius* flatters *Socrates* with this reaſon; *Socrates*, ſaith he, *as being a man abſolute and perfect of himſelfe, ready in all offices that concerned him, never needed any exhorter, but ſometimes a prohibitour, if it happened there were any danger in that which he went about, that being forewarned he might take heed, and decline the undertaking for that time; which afterwards he might reaſſume, or attempt ſome other way.*

* De divinat. 1.

CHAP. VII.

His military Actions.

Laert. * IT is obſerved by many, that *Socrates* little affected travell, his life being wholly ſpent at home, ſaving when he went out in military ſervice.

In the ſecond year of the eighty ſixt Olympiad broke forth a war, the greateſt that ever happened amongſt the Grecians, betwixt the *Lacædemonians* and the *Athenians*, the occaſions and pretexts of it ariſing from the controverſies of the *Athenians* with the *Corinthians*, concerning *Corcyra*, and *Polydæa*, both which being revolted from the *Athenians*, to whom they had been tributary, ſought for aid from the *Lacedæmonians*, who ſent forces to the relief of *Polidæa*.

In this war was *Socrates* thrice perſonally engaged; firſt, at the ſiege of *Polidæa*, in the year of the Olympiad, againſt which the *Athenians* ſent one thouſand ſix hundred choice men of armes, under the conduct of *Phormis*, who beſieged it from the Sea by his Gallyes, and on the land ſide by a wall: amongſt theſe were *Socrates* and *Alcibiades*: *Laertius* ſaith, *they were on the ſea ſide*, and that *there was no means to come on the land ſide further*: * *Plato*, that *they ſerved both a-foot*, which diſagrees not with the other; for there was not any ſet battle during all the time of the ſiege, only ſallies and ſkirmiſhes. Here as * *Alcibiades* his comerade, atteſts, Socrates *outwent all ſouldiers in hardineſſe; and if at any time*, ſaith he, *as it often happens in war, the proviſions failed, there was none could bear the want of meat and drink like him, yet on the other ſide in times of feaſting, he only ſeem'd to enjoy them, and though of himſelfe he would not drink, yet being invited, he far out-drunk all others, and which is ſtrangeſt of all, never any man ſaw him drunk. The exceſſes of cold in the winter, which in that Country are extraordinary, he as wonderfull endured, when the froſt was ſo ſharp, that very few durſt go out of their Tents, and thoſe wrapping their legs and thighes in skins and furrs, he went along with them, having no more cloths then thoſe he uſually wore: He walked bare footed upon the Ice with leſſe tenderneſſe, then others in ſhoos, to the wonder of the ſouldiers*

* Sympos.

* Plut. Sympos.

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diers, who thought themselves reproached by his hardinesse. His contemplative rapture at the same time was no less worthy admiration; he fell into a deep contemplation one morning, and continued all the while standing in the same posture, at noon it was taken notice of by the souldiers, who told it from one to another, that Socrates had stood still in the same place all that morning: In the evening some Ionian souldiers wrapping themselves warm, came, and lay down by him in the open field, to watch if he would continue all night in the same posture, which he did, untill the morning, and assoon as the Sun arose, saluted it, and retir'd. Of these kind of raptures *Agellius* saith he had many. We must not omit how he behaved himself there in fight; *seeing his friend *Alcibiades* deeply engaged, and much wounded, he stepped before him, defended him and his armes from the enemie, and brought him safely off. Nor was his modesty inferiour to his love or courage, for whereas after the battle the generalls were to bestow an honourable reward upon him that had fought best, the Judges assigning it to *Socrates*, he declin'd it, and by his earnest intercession, procur'd that it might be conferred upon *Alcibiades*. Lib. 2. cap. 1. * Plut. Symp. Athen. deipnos. citing Antisthenes.

The second action of *Socrates* was in the first year of the eighty ninth Olympiad at *Delium*, a Town in *Boetia*, which the Athenians took. *The Boetians* (saith *Thucydides*) *led by* Pagondas, *followed them, & bid them battle, the left wing of the* Boetians *to the very middle of the Army was overthrown by the* Athenians, *and fled to the other parts, where they were yet in fight: but the right had the better of the* Athenians, *and by little and little forced them to give ground, and followed them from the very first.* Pagondas, *whilst the left wing of his Army was in distresse, sent two companies of horse secretly about the hill, whereby that wing of the* Athenians *which was victorious, apprehending upon their sudden appearing that they had been a fresh Army, was put into a fright, and the whole Army of the Athenians, now doubly terrified by this accident, and by the* Thæbans *that continually won ground, and broke their ranks, betook themselves to flight, some fled towards* Delium *and the sea, others the Mountain* Parnes, *and others other waies, as to each appeared hope of safety. The* Boetians, *especially their horse, and those* Locrians *that came in, after the enemy was defeated, followed killing them. Socrates* in this engagement behaved himselfe with his accustomed valour (so well, that *Laches* confesseth, if the rest had fought like him, they had not lost the day) and care of his friends; *for seeing* Xenophon *unhorsed in the flight, and thrown down on the ground (himselfe likewise having had his horse slain under him, fought on foot) he took him upon his shoulders, and carried him many a stadia, and defended him untill they gave over the pursuit.* And being thus at the losse of the day with other dispersed in flight (amongst whom was *Laches* the Archon, and *Alcibiades*) *in the constant slownesse of his retreat expressed a courage far above* Laches, *frequently looking back and round about, as greedy to be revenged of the enemy,* * Apud Placon. * Strab. lib. 9. Laert. * Plat.

enemy if any should pursue them; which was the means that brought him off more safely, for they who expresse least fear in thrir retreat, are lesse subject to be assaulted, then such as repose their confidence in flying.

* *Plut. de daemon. Socr. & Socrat. Epist. 1.*

*As they came to a way that was divided into two, *Socrates* made a stand, and advis'd those that were with him not to take that way which they were going into, along the Mountain *Parne*, but the other by the way *Retiste*, for saith he, I heard the Dæmons voice. The greater part were angry, as if he had trifled at a time so serious; some few were perswaded to go along, amongst whom were *Laches* and *Alcibiades*, and got safely home; the rest were met by some horsemen, who returning from the pursuit, fell upon them; they at first resisted, but at last enclosed by the Enemy who exceeded them in number; they gave back, and were in the end oppress, and all killed except one, who by the help of his shield getting away, brought the newes to *Athens*, and *Pyrilampes* Son of *Antiphon*, who being wounded by a Javelin, was taken Prisoner; and when hee heard by those that were sent from *Athens* to *Thebes* to treat of peace, that *Socrates* & the rest with him got safe home; he openly profest to the Thebans, that *Socrates* had often called him and others of his company back, who not following the advice of his Genius were slain.

* *Plat. Apol. Laert.* * *Thucyd. 4.*

The last military engagement was the same year at * *Amphipolis*, * which was then taken by *Brasidas* the Lacedæmonian Generall.

CHAP. IX.

How he carried himself in the Democracy & the Oligarchy.

* *Var. hist. 3.*

Socrates forbore to accept any office in the Common-wealth, (except in his later years that of Senatour) either (as * *Ælian* saith) because hee saw the Athenian government, though under the form of a democracy, was yet nearer to a Tyranny or Monarchy, or * as himself professeth. being disswaded by his Genius from medling in publick affairs, which advice was his preservation, being too honest to comply with the injustices of the Common-wealth; and to oppose them was extreamly dangerous, as he found experimentally in that short time.

* *Plat. Apol.*

* *Plat. Apol. Gorg.* * *Chap. 1.* * *Xen. memor. 1. p. 711.*

*He was chosen to the Senate for the Antiochian tribe, whereunto (*as we have said) *Alopece* the Town were he was born belonged, and * in order thereto took the oath which *Solon* appointed to be given to every Senatour, to give sentence according to the Lawes, not biassed either by favour, hatred, or any other pretext: In the third year of the 93. Olimpiad (* the preheminence coming in course to the Antiochian tribe, and *Socrates* thereupon becoming President of the people,) hee had this

* *Plat. Apol.*

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this occasion of manifesting his constancy. * There happen'd a Sea-fight between the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians at *Arginusæ*: The Athenian Commanders were ten; the Lacedæmonians Commander in chief, *Callicratidas*; the Lacedæmonians were overthrown, their Admiral sunk; the Athenians went back to *Arginusæ* with the losse of 25 ships, and all the men in them except some few that escaped to land; The ten Commanders order'd *Theramenes* and *Thrasibulus* (Captains of the Galleyes) to look out after the vessells that were shipwrackt, which as they were going to do, a suddain tempest arose and hindred them; Six of these Commanders returned to *Athens* where they no sooner came, but upon the account they gave of the fight, the Senate committed them to prison; *Theramenes* was their accuser, who urged that they might be question'd for not relieving those that were lost by shipwrack; The Commanders justly answer'd, that they had given order for their relief, and that *Theramenes* and *Thrasibulus*, on whom that charge was imposed, were (if any) to be condemned; but that they would not retort the fault on their accusers, for the Tempest sufficiently excused them. This satisfied the Senate for that time, but at the next feast being the Apaturia, some friends of *Theramenes*, by his instigation shaving their hair, and putting on mourning apparell, pretending to be kinsmen of those that were drowned, came in that habit to the Senate, and causing the charge against the ten Commanders to be renewed, so much incensed the people, that they by menaces contrary to all law, enforced the Senate to condemn them. *Socrates* being order'd to write the decree against them, avoided it by pretending he could not write, and knew not the form, which occasion'd laughter in the Senate (and perhaps that aspersion of *Porphyrius*, that he was scarce able to write, which when he did, it was to derision) but the true reason is by *Athenæus* acknowledg'd to be his constant fortitude, in that he would not violate the lawes of the Common-wealth contrary to the Oath he had taken, * to which he took more heed then to the violence wherewith he was threatned; For when the Senate proceeded to their condemnation, he * alone opposed it with his suffrage, whereupon many Oratours prepared to accuse him, and the people cried out with loud clamours, that he might be brought to answer for it: but he chose rather to hazard himself for Law and Justice, then through fear of imprisonment and death to consent to injustice, as the death of these men was afterwards known to be, even to the Athenians themselves: and was soon after punished in *Theramenes* by the like, wherein *Socrates* gave the same testimony of his Courage upon this occasion.

* *Xenoph. hist. Græc.* 1.

* *Xenoph. memor.* 1.

* Laert Ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνος (perhaps μόνος) ἀντιψηφισάμενος τῶν δέκα ἔφη.

Athens after a long war with the Lacedæmonians of 27. years, being taken at last by *Lysander*, the Lacedæmonian Ge-

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nerall in the first year of the 94th Olympiad, there grew some debate concerning the alteration of the Government, from a democracy to an Oligarchy; *Theramenes* stood for the continuance of the democracy, but being overswai'd by the power and threats of *Lysander*; yielded to the constitution of thirty persons, * by title Governours, in effect Tyrants, of which number was *Theramenes* (whom they took, in regard of his known moderation and equity, to bridle the rapine and avarice of others,) *Critias*, (first a friend, but now a great enemy to *Socrates* for reproving his love of *Euridamus*) *Charicles* and others, whose names are set down by *Xenophon*, as are also their murders unjust sequestrations of lands, and confiscations of goods; They began with punishment of the worst persons, proceeded to the richest, and ended with the best. Never (saith *Seneca*) was any City more miserable; 1300. (*Æschines* saith 1500.) of the best persons they put to death without any legall trial, nor was their fury thereby asswaged, but more exasperated; That City where was the Areopagus, the most religious Court of Judicature, where the Senate and people like the Senate used to assemble, was daily made a sad Colledge of Executioners, an unhappy Court too narrow for the Tyrants without rest from oppression, without hope of liberty *or remedy*. All fled the City but *Socrates*, who *all this while set not his foot out of the gates*; he was continually amongst the people, comforted the lamenting Fathers, encourag'd those that despair'd of the state, reproached to the rich, that had lived in fear to lose their wealth, the late repentance of their dangerous avarice, and to those that would imitate him, gave great examples, whilst he walked free amidst the thirty oppressours.

* *Diod. Sic. lib 14.*

Theramenes opposing this cruelty and injustice, was accused by *Critias* for betraying the trust of the Common-wealth, whereof he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the Senate; But *Critias* and his faction fearing he might overthrow the Oligarchy, seized upon him with a troop of souldiers; *Theramenes* run to the Altar, but being dragg'd from thence by the officers, he behaved himself like (saith *Diodorus*) the Disciple of *Socrates*; the people pittied him, but none of them durst offer to help him, because he was compass'd in by the souldiers, except *Socrates* and two of his companions, who ran to him and endeavoured to rescue him out of the hands of the officers; *Theramenes* desired them to forbear, teling them that he much loved and commended their kindnesse and virtue, but that it would be the greatest misfortune he could have, if their love to him should occasion their deaths; whereupon *Socrates* and his companions seeing none come in to join with them in his aid, and that the contrary party was too strong for them, gave over:

Theramenes

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Theramenes was carried to prison, and there (being sentenced to drink hemlock) died.

These outrages of the thirty Tyrants *Socrates* did not forbear to censure: * *Seeing many eminent persons put to death, and the rich circumvented & betray'd to excessive punishments, he said to* Antisthenes, *doth it repent thee that we have done nothing in our whole lives great & remarkable, as those Monarchs who are described in Tragedies,* Atreus's, Thyestes's Agamemnon's *and* Ægisthus's? *they are in those playes beheaded, feasted with their own flesh, and generally destroyed; But no Poet was ever so bold and impudent as to bring a hog killed upon the stage.* Ælian. var. hist. 2.

* To another *who murmur'd because he was not looked upon since they began to rule, are you sorry for it said he?* Hee said likewise,* *that it were strange if a Neatherd who diminished and impoverished his herd, should not confesse himself an ill Neatherd; but more strange that one who being set over a City, made the Citizens worse, and their number less, should not confesse himself an ill Governour. This came to their knowledge, whereupon* Critias *and* Charicles *sent for him, and forbad him strictly to teach or discourse with any of the young men.* Socrates *asked them, if in acts of prohibition he might be permitted to question what hee understood not, which they granting; Then (continues he) I am ready to obey the Lawes, but lest I transgresse them through ignorance, I desire to be informed, whether when you forbid me the act of speaking, this act be to be understood of things spoken rightly or not rightly; if of the first, I must abstain from speaking what is right; if of the second, I must take care to speak nothing but what is right; Hereupon* Charicles *being displeased, said, Since you understood not that* Socrates, *we command you what is easier to be understood, that hence forward you speak not at all with any of the young men; To take away all ambiguity replies* Socrates, *that I may not exceed my limitation; let me know expresly at what years you call a man young: So long saith* Charicles, *as he is uncapable of being* Senatour, *and hath not attained to the height of his judgement; you are not to speak with any under thirty; May I not buy, answers* Socrates, *of any under that age, nor ask them the price of any thing? That you may, saith* Charicles, *but your custom is to ask questions of things which you know very well; forbear those: and shall I not then, replies* Socrates, *make answer if any one ask me where* Charicles *dwells, or where* Critias *is? To such questions saith* Charicles *you may. You must (continues* Critias*) refrain from the artificers, whose ears you have sufficiently grated with your impertinent discourse; I must then abstain (saith* Socrates*) from justice, piety, and the like; Even from the very Neatherds replies* Charicles, *which unlesse you do, take heed your head come not short home.* * Laert. * Xenoph. memor. 1.

This ill will and jealousie wch they had conceived against *Socrates* was increased by the secret departure of some friends of his out of the City, which was reported to be done by his contrivement, to give intelligence to the Thebans: nor was that suspicion

suspicion without reason, as is manifest by his last Epistle: hereupon they sūmon'd him into the Court, where some complaints were brought against him, of which having acquitted himselfe, they (to get a better cause of quarrel against him) gave order to him and four more to go to the *Pyræum*, and to apprehend *Leon*, whom they meant to put to death, that they might possesse his estate: But *Socrates* refused, adding, that he would never willingly assist an unjust act; whereupon *Charicles* said, dost thou think *Socrates* to talk thus peremptorily, and not to suffer? A thousand ills, answered *Socrates*, but none so grievous as to do unjustly. *Charicles* made no reply, nor any of the rest; the other foure went for *Leon*, *Socrates* directly to his house; but from thence forward, the jealousie they had of him was so much encreased, that * if their power had not been soon dissolved, they would have gone neer to have taken away his life.

* *Plat. Apol.*

CHAP. XI.

His falling out with the Sophists, and with Anytus.

* *Brut:*

THe Sophists, *Masters of language in those times*, saith * *Cicero*, (*whereof were* Gorgias *of* Leontium, Thrasymachus *of* Chalcedon, Protagoras *of* Abdera, Prodicus *a* Cian, Hippias *an* Elian, *and many others*) *who profest in arrogant words to teach, how an inferiour cause* (*such was their phrase*) *might by speaking, be made superiour*, * *and used a sweet fluent kind of Rhetorick, argute in sentences, loftie in words, fitter for ostentation then pleading, for the Schooles and Academies, rather then the Forum*) were so highly esteem'd, that * *wheresoever they came, they could perswade the young men to forsake all other conversation for theirs.* * These Socrates *opposed, and often by his subtlety of disputing, refelling their principles* * *with his accustomed interrogatories, demonstrated, that they were indeed much beneath the esteem they had gained, that they themselves understood nothing of that which they undertook to teach others; he withdrew the young men from their empty conversation: These, who till then had been looked upon as Angels for wit and Eloquence, he proved to be vain affecters of words, ignorant of those things which they profest, and had more need to give mony to be taught, then to take* (as they used) *mony for teaching. The* Athenians *taken with these reproofes which* Socrates *gave them, derided them, and excited their children to the study of solid vertue.*

* *Cic. Orator.*

* *Liban. Apol.*

* *Cic. But.*

* *Liban. Apol.*

Another quarrell *Socrates* had of long continuance, for it was the occasion of his death, but begun many years before, with *Anytus*, an Oratour by profession, privately maintained and enriched by Leather-sellers: He had put two of his sons to *Socrates* to be taught, but not being pleased, that whilst they were in that way, they had not learned so much, as to be able thereby

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thereby to get their living; he took them from *Socrates*, and put them to that trade which himſelfe was aſhamed to own; wherewith *Socrates* being much diſpleaſed in reſpect of the two youths, whoſe ruine he preſaged, (and truly, for they fell afterwards into debaucheries which occaſion'd it) ſpared not to reproach *Anytus* in diſcourſing to his Schollars, *telling them, "That the Trade of dreſſing Leather was not fit to be ſpoken "of amongſt young men; for they who benefit themſelves by "any art, cheriſh and profeſſe it, as *Acumenus* Phyſick, *Damon* "and *Connus* Muſick; even *Anytus* whilſt his ſons were his ſchol- "lars, was not aſhamed of that which they learn'd, though it "were not ſufficient to maintain them by pleading; but for "himſelfe he gloryed that he walked inviſible with *Pluto's* "Helmet, or *Giges* Ring, concealing from the people the true "means of his ſubſiſtence, which indeed was by dreſſing Lea- "ther, which was not juſt, to be aſhamed of the trade, and "not of the profit; for he ought to owne this, or to diſclaim "that. * Socratic. Epiſt. 14.

"*Anytus* (ſaith * *Ælian*) to anſwer this reproach, ſtudied "all occaſions and waies of revenge; but feared the Atheni- "ans, doubting if he ſhould accuſe *Socrates*, how they would "take it, his name being in high eſteem for many reſpects, "chiefly for oppoſing the Sophiſts, who neither taught nor "knew any ſolid learning. He *adviſeth with *Melitus*, a young "man, an Orator, unknown to *Socrates*, deſcribed by *Plato*, with long plain hair, a high noſe, and a thin beard, *one that for a drachme might be bought into any thing, by whoſe coun- ſell *"He begins, by making tryall in leſſer things, to ſound "how the *Athenians* would entertain a charge againſt his life; "for to have accuſed him upon the very firſt, he conceived "unſafe, as well for the reaſon already mentioned, as leſt "the friends and followers of *Socrates* ſhould divert the anger "of the Judges upon himſelfe, for falſely accuſing a perſon ſo "far from being guilty of any wrong to the State, that he "was the only ornament thereof. To this end he ſubbornes "*Ariſtophanes*, a Comick Poet, whoſe only buſineſſe was to "raiſe mirth, to bring *Socrates* upon the Stage, taxing him with "crimes which moſt men knew him free from, impertinent "diſcourſe, making an ill cauſe by argument ſeem good, intro- "ducing new and ſtrange deities, whilſt himſelfe believed "and reverenced none; hereby to inſinuate an ill opinion of "him, even into thoſe who moſt frequented him. *Ariſtophanes* "taking this Theme, interweaves it with much abuſive mirth; "the beſt of the Grecians was his ſubject, not *Cleon* the *Lace- "dæmonians*, the *Thebans*, or *Pericles* himſelfe, but a perſon dear "to all the Gods, eſpecially *Apollo*. At firſt (by reaſon of the "novelty of the thing, the unuſuall perſonating of *Socrates* * Var. hiſt. * Schol. Ariſtoph. * Liban. * Ælian.

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upon the Stage) the *Athenians*, who expected nothing leſſe, were ſtruck with wonder: Then, (being naturally envious apt to detract from the beſt perſons, not only of ſuch as bore office in the common-wealth, but any that were eminent for learning or vertue) they begun to be taken with the *Clouds*, (ſo was the play named) and cried up the actour that perſonated *Socrates* with more applauſe, then ever any before, giving him with many ſhouts the victory, and ſending word to the Judges that they ſhould ſet down no name but that of *Ariſtophanes*. *Socrates* came ſeldome to the Theater, unleſſe when *Euripides* conteſted with any new Tragædian, there, or in the *Pyræum*, then he went, for he affected the wiſdome, goodneſſe, and ſweetneſſe of his verſe; ſometimes *Alcibiades* and *Critias* would invite him to a Comedy, and in a manner compell him; for he was ſo far from eſteeming Comedians, that he contemned them, as lying, abuſive, and unprofitable; whereat they were much diſpleaſed: Theſe (with other things ſuggeſted by *Anytus* and *Melitus*) were the ground of *Ariſtophanes* his Comædy, who, it is likely, got a great ſumme of money by it, they being eager in proſecution of their deſign, and he prepared by want, and malice to receive their impreſſion: In fine, the play got extraordinary credit, that of *Cratinus* being verified,

The Theater was then
Fill'd with malitious men.

It being at that time the feaſt of *Bacchus*, a multitude of Grecians went to ſee the play: *Socrates* being perſonated on the Stage and often named, (nor was it much the Players ſhould repreſent him, for the Potters frequently did it upon their ſtone-jugs) the ſtrangers that were preſent (not knowing whom the Comedy abuſed) raiſed a humme and whiſper, every one asking who that *Socrates* was? which he obſerving (for he came not thither by chance, but becauſe he knew himſelfe ſhould be abuſed in the play, had choſen the moſt conſpicuous ſeat in the Theater) to put the ſtrangers out of doubt, he roſe up, and all the while the play laſted, continued in that poſture, (* laughing) * One that was preſent asked him, if it did not vex him to ſee himſelfe brought upon the Stage? *Not at all*, (anſwered he) *me thinks I am at a feaſt, where every one enjoyes me.* * This comedy was firſt acted when *Iſarchus* was Archon, *Cratinus* victor in the firſt year of the eighty ninth Olympiad: *Ariſtophanes* being by ſome reprehended for it, to vindicate himſelfe, cauſed it to be acted again the year following, *Amintas* being Archon, but with worſe order then at firſt:

* *Ælian. var. hiſt. 5.*
* *Plut. de educand. lib.*
* *Schol. Ariſtoph*

Amip-

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* *Amipsias* also (another comick Poet) derided him thus in *Tribone*. Lacrt.

O Socrates, the best of few, the vainest
Of many men, and art thou come amongst us?
Where is thy gown? did not this great misfortune
Befall thee by the leather-dresser's help.

CHAP. X.

His Triall.

* MAny years past since the first falling out betwixt *Socrates* and *Anytus*, during which time one continued openly reproving the other, secretly undermining, untill at length *Anytus* seeing the time sute with his design, procur'd *Melitus* to prefer a bill against him to the Senate, in these termes. Plat. Apul. Liban. Apol.

Melitus *Son of* Melitus, *a Pythean, accuseth* Socrates *Son of* Sophroniscus *an Alopecian.* Socrates *violates the Law, not believing the deities which this City believeth, but introducing other new Gods. He violates the law likewise in corrupting youth; the punishment death.*

This bill being preferr'd upon oath (*Plato* * ὀμωμοσία) *Crito* became bound to the Judges for his appearance at the day of triall. * Soon after *Anytus sent privately to him, desiring him to forbear the mention of his Trade, and assuring him that he would thereupon withdraw his action; but* Socrates *return'd him answer, that he would never forbear speaking truth as long as he lived, that he would always use the same speeches concerning him; that his accusation was not of force enough to make him refrain from speaking those things which he thought himself before obliged to say.* * See Suidas upon that word. * Liban. Apol. p. 644.

* The intervall of time betwixt his accusation and triall, he imploi'd in his usual Philosophical exercises, not taking any care to provide his defence, for which being observ'd & questioned by *Hermogenes* son of *Hipponicus*, "I provide apology enough "(saith he) in considering & pursuing the constant course of my "life; *Hermogenes* demanding how that could be? because "(saith he) I never did any unjust act, which I conceive the best "apologie: but we often see Judges (saith *Hermogenes*) over-"swai'd by Rhetorick, to condemne the innocent and acquit "the guilty: the truth is, (replyed *Socrates*) going about to "make my apology, I was twice withheld by the Dæmon, "whereat *Hermogenes* wondring, is it strange (continues hee) "that God should think it fit for me to dy at this time? hither-"to no man hath lived more uprightly, which as it is now my "greatest comfort, so it was the greatest delight to my selfe * Xenoph. Apol. & memor. 4.

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"and friends; if I live longer, I know I muſtundergoe what "is proper to old age, defects of hearing and ſight, ſlowneſſe "to apprehend, aptneſs to forget, how can I then be pleaſed to "live longer and grow worſe: It is likely God in his love to mee "hath ordained that I ſhould die in the moſt convenient age, "and by the gentleſt meanes, for if I die by ſentence, I am al- "lowed the benefit of the moſt eaſie kind of death; I ſhall give "my friends the leaſt trouble, I ſhall doe nothing unſeemely "before thoſe that are preſent, and ſhall depart ſound in body "and ſoule; is not this very deſirable? God with much reaſon "forbids me to make any defence; If I could effect it, I ſhould "onely ſtay longer to be taken away by the torment of diſeaſes "and imperfections of age, which truly *Hermogenes* I deſire not; "If when I give an accompt of my actions towards God and "men, the Judges think fit to condemne me, I will rather chuſe "to die then to beg *of them a life worſe then death*. Other friends uſed the ſame perſwaſions to him with aſſurance of victory, * *Lycias* an exccellent Oratour offered him an Oration, which he had written in his defence, deſiring him if he thought good to make uſe of it at his tryall; *Socrates* peruſed it, and told him, "that it was a good one, but not fit for him. *Lyſias* asking how "that could be? why (ſaith he) may not a garment or ſhooes "be rich, yet not fit for me? if you ſhould bring me Sicyoni- an ſhooes, I would not weare them though they were fit for my feet, becauſe they are effeminate: he conceived the Oration to be ingenious and eloquent, but not ſtout and manly, * for though it were very bitter againſt the Judges, yet * was it more rhetoricall then became a Philoſopher.

* *Cicer. de Orat. 1.*
* *Laert.*
* *Plut.*
* *Laert.*

The day of tryall being come,* *Anytus*, *Lyco*, and *Melitus* prepared to accuſe him, one in behalfe of the people, the ſecond of the Oratours, the laſt of the Poets: *Melitus* firſt went up into the chaire proper for that purpoſe, and there ſpoke an Oration which was in it ſelf mean enough, but withall deliver'd ſo unhappily and ſchool-boy-like, that ſometimes he was out with fear, and turned about to be prompted like a player, enough to beget laughter, even in thoſe that were moſt concern'd in ſo ſerious a cauſe: Part of the effect whereof ſeems to be the ſame which is thus by *Xenophon* diſperſedly deliver'd, ſome particulars whereof are confirmed by *Libanius*.

* *Plat. Apol.*

"That *Socrates* perſwaded his auditors to contemn the re- "ceived Lawes, ſaying, it was fit onely for fooles to bee "govern'd by a bean, (meaning the ſuffrages of the Senate ſo gather'd.)

"That he was intimately converſant with *Critias* and *Alcibi- "ades*, one moſt covetous and violent in the Oligarchy, the o- "ther ambitious of Tyranny.

"That

"That he taught direſpect and obedience to Parents, telling "his ſcholers hee would make them wiſer then their Fathers; "and that it was lawfull for any one to bind his Father if hee "were mad, and for thoſe that were the more wiſe to do as "much to thoſe that were leſſe wiſe.

"That he taught alſo direſpect of all other kinſmen, ſaying "they were not uſefull to the ſick, or to the accuſed, the firſt be-"ing in more need of a Phyſician, the latter of an Oratour; that "the good will of unable friends was nothing worth: that one-"ly the moſt knowing perſons were moſt worthy of ho-"nour, by which means he would arrogate all reſpect to "himſelf.

"That he ſelected out of the Poets ſome ill places, and per-"verted others that were not ſo, to excite his friends to impi-"ous actions; as that of *Heſiod*,

There is no work purſued ſhame;
'Tis idleneſs that merits blame.

"He expounded, as if the Poet meant all acts might be commit-"ted for gain.

"That he often repeated and miſinterpreted theſe words of "*Homer*, as if the Poet allowed the poor to be beaten.

When he a Prince or ſome great perſon meets,
Such with ſoft language kindly thus he greets;
Happy above the reach of fear are you;
Sit down, and bid your followers do ſo too.
But of the lower ſort when any ſpeaks,
Forth theſe words with blows his anger breaks:
Be quiet, to thy betters wretch ſubmit;
For action and advice alike unfit.

Melitus (his oration ended) came down; * next him came *Anytus* with a long malicious ſpeech; and laſt of all *Lyco* with all the artifice of Rhetorick concluded the accuſation. * *Liban. Apol.*

Socrates * would not (as was the cuſtom) procure an Advocate to plead for him; all the while his accuſers were ſpeaking, he ſeemed to employ his mind about nothing leſſe: as ſoon as they had done, he went up into the chair, (* in which action he obſerved that the Dæmon did not withhold him) and with * an angry ſmile begun this * unpremeditated anſwer, * not as a ſuppliant or guilty perſon, but as if Maſter of the Judges themſelves, with a free contumacy proceeding not from pride, but the greatneſſe of his mind. * *Cic. Tuſc. queſt. 1.* * *Cic. de divinat. 1.* * *Socratic. Epiſt. 14.* * *Plat. Apol.* * *Cic. Tuſc. queſt. 1.*

"* But I wonder firſt (*Athenians*) how *Melitus* came by * *Xenoph.*

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"this knowledge, that (as he saith) I do not worship those "Gods the City worships? Others have seen me (and so might "*Melitus* if he had pleas'd) sacrifice at common festivalls on "the publick Altars; How do I introduce new deities when I "profesſe to be directed in all my actions by the voice of God? "they who obſerve the notes of birds, or answers of men, are "guided by the voice: none doubts of thunder whether it bee "loud or oraculous; Doth not the Prieſteſſe on the Tripod con-"vey to us by voice what the God delivers to her? and that "he foreknowes events, communicating them to whom plea-"ſeth him, all men (as well as I) believe and profeſſe: others "call thoſe that foretell events, Augurs, Soothſayers and Divi-"ners, I the Dæmon, and (I conceive) more religiouſly then "they who aſcribe a Divine power to birds: That I am no im-"poſtor, herein many can atteſt, who have asked my advice, "and never found it fail. (Here there aroſe a murmur in the Senate, ſome not believing, others envying what he ſaid, that he ſhould ſurpaſſe them in ſuch a particular favour of the deity;) "Let ſuch as are incredulous hear this alſo to confirm "their opinion that I am not favour'd of the Gods; when *Chæ-"rephon* in the preſence of many witneſſes queſtion'd the Del-"phian Oracle concerning me, *Apollo* anſwered, that no man "was more free, more juſt, or more wiſe; (here another mur-mur aroſe amongſt the Judges: he proceeded) "Yet the ſame "God ſaid more of *Lycurgus* the Lacedæmonian Lawgiver, that "he knew not whether to call him a God or a man; me he com-"pared not with the Gods, though he gave me the priority a-"mongſt men. But truſt not the God herein, conſider me ex-"actly your ſelves; whom know you leſſe a ſervant to corpo-"reall pleaſures? whom more free? I accept not either rewards "or gifts? who more juſt then he who ſo conformes himſelf to "the preſent time, as he needs not the help of any other? who "will ſay he deſerves not the title of wiſe, who ſince he was "able, never deſiſted to learn by enquiry all good poſſible: and "that I took not this pains in vain, is evident in that, many "Citizens and ſtrangers ſtudious of virtue, preſer my conver-"ſation above all others: what is the reaſon that though all "men know I have no wealth to requite them, ſo many deſire "to oblige me by gifts? that I require no return from any, yet "engage ſo many? that when the City being beſieged, every "one lamented his condition, I was no more mov'd then when "it was moſt flouriſhing? That whilſt others lay out money on "outward things to pleaſe themſelves, I furniſh my ſelf from "within, my ſelf with things that pleaſe me better? If none can "diſprove what I have ſaid, deſerve I not the commendati-"ons both of Gods and men? and yet you *Melitus* pretend that

"with

"with these instructions I corrupt youth? Every one "knowes what it is to corrupt youth; Can you name but "one that I of religious have made impious, of modest impu-"dent, of frugal, prodigall, of sober, debauch'd, of hardy effe-"minate, or the like? But I know those answer'd *Melitus* "whom you have perswaded to be more obedient to you then "to their own Parents: That as far as concernes instruction, re-"plied Socrates, I confesse this they know to be my proper "care: for their health men obey Physicians before their Pa-"rents, in Law-suits Counsellors before their kindred; do you "not in war prefer the most experienced souldiers to com-"mand before your own allies? yes answers *Melitus*, 'tis fit we "should; and do you think it reason then, replies *Socrates*, if "others are preferr'd for such things as they are excellent in, "that, because in in the opinion of some, I have an advantage "beyond others in educating youth, which is the greatest be-"nefit amongst men, I ought therefore to die? * *Anytus* and "*Melitus* (saith he, addressing himself to the Judges) may pro-"cure my death, hurt me they cannot: * To fear death is to "seem wise, and not to be so, for it is to pretend to understand "that which we understand not: no man knows what death "is, whether it be not the greatest happinesse that can arrive "to a man, and yet all fear, and shun it as if they were sure it "were the greatest misfortune.

* *Plut de tranqu. anim.*

* *Plut. de consol. ad Apol.*

This and more (saith *Xenophon*) was said both by himselfe and his friends, but the Judges were so little pleased with his unusuall manner of pleading, that * as *Plato* went up into the Chair and began a speech in these words; *Though I Athenians am the youngest of those that come up in this place*, they all cried out, *of those that go down*, which he thereupon was constrained to do, and they proceeding to vote, *Socrates* was cast by 281. voices; It was the custom of *Athens*, as *Cicero* observes, when any one was cast, if the fault were not capitall, to impose a pecuniary mulct; when the Judges had voted in that manner, the guilty person was asked the highest rate whereat he æstimated his offence; The Judges willing to favour *Socrates*, propounded that demand to him, Hee answered 25. (or as *Eubulides* saith, 100.) drachmes, nor would he suffer * his friends, * *Plato*, *Crito*, *Critobulus*, and *Apollodorus* (who desired him to æstimate it at 50. minæ, promising to undertake the sum) to pay any thing for him, saying, that to pay a penalty was to own an offence, and telling the Judges that (for what he stood accused) hee deserved the highest honours and rewards, and daily sustenance at the publick charge out of the Prytanæum, which was the greatest honour that was amongst the Græcians; with this answer, the Iudges were so exasperated, that they condemned him to death by 80. votes more.

* *Laert.*

* *Xenoph.* * *Plat Apol.*

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*Xenoph. Apol. * The sentence being past, he could not forbear smiling and turning to his friends, said thus, they who have suborned false witnesses against me, and they who have born such testimonies, are, doubtlesse conscious to themselves of great impiety and injustice; but as for me, what should more deject me now then before I was condemned, being nothing the more guilty: They could not prove I named any new Gods for *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and the rest, or swore by such: How did I corrupt young men by inuring them to sufferance and frugality? of capitall offences, as Sacriledge, Theft, and Treason, my very adversaries acquit me; which makes me wonder how I come to be condemned to dye; yet that I dye unjustly will not trouble me, it is not a reproach to me, but to those who condemned me; I am much satisfied with the example of *Palamedes*, who suffered death in the like manner; he is much more commended then *Vlysses* the procurer of his death; I know, both future and past times will witnesse, I never hurt, or injur'd any, but on the contrary have advantaged all that conversed with me to my utmost ability, communicating what good I could, gratis. This said, he went away, his carriage answerable to his words, his eyes, gesture, and gate expressing much cheerfulnesse.

CHAP. XI.

His imprisonment.

* *Consol. ad Helv.* SOcrates (saith * *Seneca*) *with the same resolved look, wherewith he singly oppos'd the thirty Tyrants, entered the prison, and took away all ignominy from the place, which could not be a prison whilst he was there:* Here (*being fettered by the eleven Officers) he continued *thirty daies after he was condemned upon this occasion: * The ship which carried *Theseus* and fourteen more persons into *Creet*; he vowed if they got safe home (as it fortuned they did) to dedicate to *Apollo*, and to send it every yeer with a present to *Delos*, which custome the *Athenians* religiously observed; before the solemnity, they used to lustrate their City, and all condemned persons were reprieved till it returned from *Delos*, which sometimes, the wind not serving, was a long time. The Priest of *Apollo* began the solemnity, by crowning the Poop of the ship, which happening the day before *Socrates* was condemned, occasioned his lying in prison so long after.

* *Maxim. Tyr.*
* *Xenoph. memor. 4.*
* *Plat. Phed.*

In this intervall he was visited by his friends, with whom he past the time in dispute after his usuall manner: he was often solicited by them to an escape, some of them offered to carry him away by force, which he not only refused, but derided

ded, asking, if they knew any place out of *Attica* whither death could not come? * *Crito*, two daies before his death, came very early in the morning to him, to the same purpose, having by his frequent visits and gifts gained some interest in the Jaylour, but finding him asleep, sat still by him, admiring in the soundnesse of his sleep, the happy equality of his mind: assoon as he waked, he told him, that he came to bring sad newes, if not such to him, yet to all his friends, that the ship would certainly be at home to morrow at furthest (some that came from *Sunium* affirming they had left it there) but that in all likelyhood it would come that day, and he should dye the next. In good time be it, answered *Socrates*, but I do not beleeve it will come to day; for the day following I must dye, as they say, who have the power in their hands; but that I shall not dye to morrow but the day after, I guesse by a dream I had this night, that a woman very beautifull in a white garment, saluted me by my name, saying,

* *Plat. Crit.*

Thou, ere three daies are to'd,
Rich Pthya *shalt behold.*

(The same relation, according to *Laertius*, he made to *Æschines*) This occasion *Crito* took to perswade him to save himselfe, which he prest with many arguments; "That his friends "would be accused of covetousnesse, as more desirous to spare "their wealth, then to redeem him; that it might be effected with little trouble and expence to them who were provided for it; that himselfe was rich enough to do it, or if not, *Simmias*, *Cebes* and others, would joyne with him; that he ought not "voluntarily to thrust himselfe into destruction, when he "might avoid it; that he should leave his children in an un-"certain mean estate; that it would not be construed constan-"cy but want of courage. Consider well these reasons, saith "he, or rather (for it is now no time to stand considering) "be perswaded, what is to be done, must be done this night, "or it will be too late. *Socrates* answered, that his cheerfull "readinesse to relieve him was much to be esteemed, if agreea-"ble to justice, otherwise, the lesse just, the more blamable: "that opinion and censure ought not to be regarded, but "truth and equity; that wrong must not be requited with "wrong; that faith should be kept more strictly with a City "then with private persons; that he had voluntarily subjected "himselfe to the lawes of his Country, by living under their "government, and to violate them at last, were great "injustice: that by breaking Prison, he should not only draw "his friends into many inconveniences, but himselfe also into "many dangers, only to live and dye in exile; that in such a

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"condition, he ſhould be nothing more capable to bring up "his children well, but dying honeſtly, his friends would take "the more care of them: That whatſoever inconvenience might "enſue, nothing was to be preferred before juſtice; that if he "ſhould eſcape by treachery, the remainder of his life would "be never the more happy, nor himſelfe after death better en-"tertain'd in the next world. Theſe things (ſaith he) I hear "like the Corybantian pipes, the ſound of theſe words makes "me deafe to every thing elſe; therefore whatever you ſhall "ſay to the contrary, will be to no purpoſe; but if you have "any other buſineſſe, ſpeak. *Crito* anſwering, he had not any "elſe, as for this then (concludes he) ſpeak no more of it, let us "go the way which God points out to us.

CHAP. XII.

The time and manner of his death.

THe time of *Socrates* death, is formerly touch'd: the Marble at *Arundell-Houſe* ſaith, he died when *Laches* was Archon, aged ſeventy yeers, which (according to *Plato*) were compleat, for he ſaith [illegible]. * *Demetrius Phalerius* ſaith, he dyed the firſt year of the nintie fifth Olympiad, having lived ſeventy yeers. * *Diodorus Siculus* averres, it was done in that yeare *Laches* being *Archon*.

* Laert.
* Lib. 14.

Although there be not any thing in the Greek ſtory ſettled by better authority; then the years of *Socrates*; *Leo Allatius* with much confidence, and little reaſon, controverts the received Chronology of his life and death, the occaſion is this; the fourteenth of the *Socratick* Epiſtles publiſht by him, mentioneth an oration of *Polycrates*, as ſpoken at the arraignment of *Socrates*; but the Walls of *Athens* repaired by *Conon* ſix years after the death of *Socrates*, being ſpoken of in that Oration, the Epiſtle is thereby rendred ſuſpicious, the truth ſeems to be this: After the death of *Socrates*, it became an ordinary Theme in the Schooles of Rhetorick (which was at that time much ſtudied at *Athens*) to ſpeak for and againſt *Socrates*: *Polycrates*, a Sophiſter, to exerciſe his wit, wrote an invective: *Lyſias*, a famous Oratour, who died about the 100 Olympiad, had written (as we have already ſaid) an Apologetick, which is by the Scholiaſt of *Ariſtides* cited in anſwer to *Polycrates*. Apologies were in like manner written by *Plato*, * *Xenophon*, and (long after by) *Libanius*; although *Iſocrates* admoniſhed *Polycrates* of certain errors in his Oration againſt *Socrates*, yet the Anachroniſm continued, for Chronology was not yet ſtudied in *Athens*; and thence it is that *Plato* himſelf is in that reſpect ſo much reprehended by *Athenæus*, *Ariſtides*, *Macrobius*, and others: the writer

* Memorab. lib. 1.

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writer of the Socraticall Epiſtle admits *Polycrates* as the accuſer at the triall, and the oration as then, and there ſpoken, ſo alſo doth *Hermippus* whom *Laertius* cites to the ſame effect; But *Phavorinus* a Critick of later times, when Chronology was more exact, detects the errour by computation of times: *Allatius* will by no means have the criticiſm of *Phavorinus* allowed, and labours to introduce an uncertainty of the time, to the end hee may perſwade that *Socrates* lived beyond the reparation of the walls of *Athens*: the great Engine wherewith he labours to demoliſh all that hath been aſſerted by the antients, is the teſtimony of *Suidas*, who (I know not upon what authority) ſaith he lived 80. years: his ſmaller artillery are the groundleſſe emendation of *Meurſius*, and the miſtake of *Scaliger* before noted: the abſurd Metachroniſm of the *Chronicum Alexandrinum*, which makes *Socrates* die in the 104th Olympiad, and in the 90th year of his age; the aniſtoreſie of the unknown writer of *Ariſtotles* life, who ſuppoſeth him in the 17th. year of his age to have heard *Socrates* three years, and which is moſt ridiculous, the notorious anachroniſms of *Plato* muſt ſerve as irrefragable arguments to impugne the truth. With theſe proofes in the ſophiſticall diſguiſe of a Dialogue, hee endeavours to puzzle the unwary reader.

The manner of his death receive from *Plato* in the perſon of *Phædo* an Eye-witneſſe "Every day (ſaith he) I went with o-
"ther friends of his to viſit him; we met in the Court where he
"was tried, it being near the priſon; where we entertain'd our
"ſelves with diſcourſe till the priſon was open'd, then went in
"unto him and ſpent many times the whole day with him: But
"that day we met ſooner then ordinary, for the evening be-
"fore as we came out of the Priſon, we heard the ſhip was
"come from *Delos*, and thereupon we appointed to meet early
"the next morning at the uſuall place, where being come, the
"Porter came out to us, and told us that that we muſt ſtay a
"while before we could be admitted, for the eleven Officers
"were there taking off his fetters, having brought him word
"that he muſt die to day: not long after he came out again, and
"told us we might go in, where when we came, we found So-
"crates his fetters newly taken off, and *Xantippe* ſitting by him
"with a child in her armes: She as ſoon as ſhe ſaw us burſt
"forth into tears, and cried out ah, *Socrates*, this is the laſt time
"thy friends ſhall ever ſpeak to thee, or thou to them; *Crito*
"(ſaith *Socrates*, addreſſing himſelf to him) let ſome body ca-
"ry her home; whereupon ſome of *Crito's* ſervants lead her a-
"way exclaiming, and beating her breſt. *Socrates* who was ſit-
"ting upon the bed, drew up his leg and rubb'd it, ſaying the
"whilſt, How ſtrange a thing friends is that which men call
pleaſure

" pleasure, how near a kin to pain to which it seems so contrary?
" they arrive not indeed together, but hee that takes
" one, is immediately overtaken by the other, as if they were
" tied together: If *Æsop* had observ'd this, certainly hee would
" have made some fable of it, as if God willing to compose
" their difference, had joined them by the end, not being able to
" make them absolutely one; so that whosoever hath one, must
" strait have the other also; As it happens to me at this time,
" the pain my fetters even now gave me, is now turned to a kind
" of pleasure, and tickles me. You have opportunely (said
" *Cebes*) put me in mind to ask, why since your imprisonment
" (which you never did before) you have writ Poems, a
" hymne to *Apollo*, and *Æsops* Fables render'd into verse; ma-
" ny have question'd me about it, particularly *Euenus*; if hee
" repeat this demand, what answer shall I give him? Tell him
" (answers *Socrates*) that truly I did it not to to contend with
" him and his verses, but to comply with a dream (which I
" have had more then once) enjoyning me to practise Musicks
" in obedience whereunto I first made verses in honour of the
" God whose feast this was; Then, conceiving it essentiall to a
" Poet to write fictions, which of my self, I use not,
" I made use of some of *Æsops* which I had in memory, as
" they first came into my fancy; Tell *Euenus* this, and bid him
" from me farewell, and if he be wise, follow me, for it seems
" I must go hence to day, the Athenians have so order'd it.
" What is that said *Simmias* which you bid *Euenus* do, I have
" often conversed with him, but as far as I understand him, hee
" will not be at all ready to be rul'd by you; what, saith he, is he
" not a Philosopher? he seem so, answers *Simmias*, then he will
" (replyed *Socrates*) and so will all who deserve that name;
" but perhaps he will not lay violent hands upon himself, that
" is not lawfull: and as he was speaking thus, he set down his
" leg again to the ground, and sitting so, continued all the rest
" of the dispute. Then *Cebes* asking why, how it could be that
" it should be prohibited to ones self, yet that a Philosopher
" ought to desire to follow a dying person? he answered, men
" are the possessions of God, would you not be angry if your
" slave should kill himself against your will, and if it were in
" your power punish him? we must expect a summons from
" God, an inevitable necessity (such as I have at this time) to
" take us hence. This is truth, replied *Cebes*, but what you asser-
" ted even now is inconsistent with it; God taking care of us as
" his possessions, can a wise man desire to be out of his pro-
" tection? he cannot think to mend his condition by freeing
" himself from so excellent a government: *Socrates* seemed much
" pleased with the subtlety of *Cebes*, and turning to us said, *Ce-*
" *bes* is alwaies inquisitive, nor will easily admit any thing; to

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"me said *Simmias* what he hath said seeems reason, how can "wise men endure, much lesse endeavour to part with those "that are so much better then themselves? but *Cebes* herein "reflects upon you, who are so ready to leave us, and the "Gods whom you acknowledge good Governours: you say "well, answers *Socrates*, I suppose you would have me answer "as in a Court of Judicature; by all meanes saith *Simmias*; well "then replies he, I will endeavour to defend my self better a-"gainst you then I did before the Judges: Truly did I not be-"lieve I should go to just Gods, and to men better then any li-"ving, I were inexcusable for contemning death; but I am sure "to go to the Gods, very good Masters, and hope to meet with "good men, and am of good courage, hoping that something of "man subsists after death, and that it is then much better with "the good then with the bad. Here *Crito* interrupting him, told "him that he who was to administer the poison, advis'd him to "speak little, & not heat himself with dispute, for it agreed not "with that kind of poison, which some neglecting, had bin con-"strained to take it two or three times: mind him not said *So-"crates*, let him provide as much as may serve twice or thrice "if need be; Then he proceeded in a large discourse to declare that the chief office of a Philosopher is to meditate on death; therefore he ought not to fear the approach of it; That as death is the solution of the Soul from the Body, so is it the office of a Philosopher to free the soul from corporeall affections; That if we understand the better, the more the soul is disengaged from sense, we shall understand most perfectly when she is wholly freed from the body by death, which perfection of knowledge is the sole end of Philosophy.

This part of the discourse ended, *Cebes* occasions the renewing of it by the desiring him to prove the immortality of the soule, which he doth first from the necessary succession of generation & corruption as contraries, the ground of the *Pythagorean* transmigration; next from the Soules manner of reasoning, which being only by reminiscence argues it had a being before the body (when it had perfect knowledge of those Ideas which upon occasion of sensible objects it recovers) and consequently shall subsist after it; much more is spoken by *Plato* under his name, whereof almost all is manifestly *Plato's* owne, nor is it possible to select that which is not from the rest; the conclusion of his discourse (as contracted by *Cicero*) was, "That there are "two waies, and a twofold course of Soules when they goe out "of the body: for such as have defiled themselves with hu-"mane vices given over to pleasures wherewith they are blin-"ded, according as they are polluted with domestick sins, or "have used inexpiable deceits to wrong the publike, take a by-

Tusc. quest. pag. 127.

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"way secluded from the Counsell of the Gods: But they who "have preserved themselves intire & chast from the least con-"tagion of their bodyies, having alwaies withdrawne them-"selves from them, and in humane flesh imitated the lives of "Gods, find a ready way open for them, leading them to those "from whom they came: and as swans are (not without rea-"son) sacred to *Apollo*, because they seeme to have learnt di-"vination from him, whereby foreseeing the good that is in "death they dye with songs and delight, so ought all good and "knowing persons to doe: * Let every one therefore prepare "for this journey against the time that fate shall call him away; "You *Simmias*, *Cebes* and the rest here present shall goe at your "appointed hower, me fate now summons (as the Tragedian "saith) and perhaps it is time that I goe into the Bath, for I "think it best to wash before I take the poison, that I may save "the women the labour of washing me when I am dead.

* *Plat.*

"When hee had made an end of speaking, *Crito* asked him "what directions he would leave concerning his Sonnes and "other affaires, and if they could doe any thing that might bee "acceptable to him? I desire no more (saith he) then what I "have often told you, if you take care of your selves, whatsoe-"ver you doe will be acceptable to me and mine, though you "promise nothing, if you neglect your selves and vertue, you "can doe nothing acceptable to us though you promise never "so much; that answered *Crito* we shall observe; but how will "you be buried? as you think good, saith he, if you can catch "me, and that I give you not the slip, then with a smile apply-"ing himselfe to us, I cannot perswade *Crito* saith he, that I am "any thing more then the carkasse you will anon behold, and "therefore he takes this care for my enterment; it seems "that what even now I told him that as soon as I have "taken the poyson I shall go to the joyes of the blessed, hath "been to little purpose; He was my bail, bound to the Iudges "for my appearance, you must now be my sureties to him that "I am departed; let him not say that *Socrates* is carried to the "grave, or laid under ground, for know dear *Crito* such a "mistake were a wrong to my soul; be not dejected; tell the "world my body onely is buried, and that after what manner "thou pleasest. This said, hee arose and retir'd into an inner "room, taking *Crito* with him, leaving us discoursing upon "our own misery, shortly to be deprived like Orphans of so "dear a Father. After his bathing, came his wife and the other "women of his Family with his Sons, two of them children, one "a youth; when he had taken order with these about his do-"mestick affairs, hee dismist them and came out to "us.

"It

"It was now Sun-set (for he had staid long within) when "the officer entred, and after a little pause said, 'I have not *So-*"*crates* observ'd that carriage in you which I have found in o-"thers, but as I thought you the most generous, the mildest "and best of all men that ever came into this place, so I now "see you hate me, not for that whereof others are the cause: "you know the message I bring, farewell, bear what you cannot "remedy, with that he departed weeping; and fare thee well, "(said *Socrates*) I will: How civill is this man? I found him the "same all the time of my imprisonment, hee would often visit "me, discourse with me, used me always curteously, and now "see how kindly he weeps for me: but come *Crito*, let us do as "he bids us, if the poison be ready, let it be brought in; The Sun "is yet scarce set answers *Crito*: others take it late after a plen-"tifull supper and full cups; make not so much hast; there is "time enough, he replies, they who do so think they gain time, "but what shall I gain by drinking it late, onely deceive my "self as covetous of life, and sparing of that which is no longer "mine; pray let it be as I say; Then *Crito* sent one of the atten-"dants, who immediately returned, and with him the man "that was to administer the poison, bringing a cup in his hand, "to whom *Socrates*, prethee honest friend (for thou art well "verst in these businesses) what must I do? nothing said hee, "but as soon as you have drunk, walk till you find your leggs "begin to fail? then lie down, and in so saying, he gave him the "Cup; *Socrates* took it cheerfully, not changing either counte-"nance, or colour; and looking pleasantly upon him, deman-"ded whether he might spill any of it in libation, who answe-"red, he had made no more then would just serve; yet faith "*Socrates* I may pray to God, and will that my passage hence "may be happy, which I beseech him to grant, and in the same "instant drank it off easily without any disturbance; many of "us who till now had refrained from tears, when we saw him "put the cup to his mouth and drink off the poison, were not "able to contain any longer; which *Socrates* observing; "*friend* (saith he) *what mean you? for this reason I sent away the wo-*"*men left they should be so unquiet: I have heard we should die with gra-*"*tulation and applause, be quiet then and take it patiently*; These "words made us with shame suppresse our tears; when he had "walked a while, perceiving his leggs to fail, he lay down on "his back as the Executioner directed him, who looking on his "feet pinched them hard, asking him if he felt it, he answered "no; he did the like to his leggs, and showing us how every "part successively grew cold and stiffe, told us when that chil-"nesse came at his heart he would die; not long after hee spake "these his last words, *O Crito I owe Æsculapius a Cock, pay it, neg-*

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"glect it not. It ſhall be done, ſaid *Crito*; will you have any "thing elſe? He made no anſwer, lay ſtill a while, then ſtretched "himſelfe forth; with that the executioner uncovered him, "his eyes were ſet, *Crito* cloſed them. This (ſaith *Plato*) was "the end of the beſt, the wiſeſt, and moſt juſt of men: A ſtory, which *Cicero* profeſſeth, he never read without tears.

Ariſtotle ſaith, that a *Magus* comming from *Syria* to *Athens*, not only reprehended *Socrates* for many things, but foretold him alſo that he ſhould die a violent death. *Laertius* cloſeth his life with this *Epigram*,

Drink Socrates *with* Jove, *next whom enthron'd*,
By Gods, and wiſdom's ſelfe as wiſeſt own'd.
Thee, the Athenians gave a pois'nous draught,
But firſt the ſame they from thy lips had quaſt.

CHAP. XIIII.

What happened after his death.

HE was buried with tears and much ſolemnity (contrary to his own direction) by his friends, amongſt whom, * the exceſſive grief of *Plato* is obſerved by *Plutarch*, * and the mourning habit of *Iſocrates*: As ſoon as they had performed that laſt ſervice, fearing the cruelty of the Tyrants, they ſtole out of the City, the greater part to *Megara* to *Euclid*, where they were kindly received, * the reſt to other parts.

* *Plut. de virt. mor.*
* *Plut. vit. dec. Orat.*
* *Liban.*

* Soon after, a Lacædemonian youth, who had never more acquaintance with *Socrates* then what fame gave him, took a journey to *Athens*, intending to become his diſciple; being come as far as the City-gates, & ready to enter, with joy to be ſo neer the end at which he aimed, inſtead of *Socrates*, he meets there the newes of his death, whereat he was ſo troubled, that he would not go within the City-gates, but enquiring the place where he was buried, went thither, and breaks forth into a paſſionate diſcourſe, accompanyed with many tears, to the encloſed dead body; when night was come, he fell aſleep upon the Sepulcher; the next morning, affectionately kiſſing the duſt that lay upon it; and with much paſſion taking leave of the place, he returned to *Megara*.

* *Socrat. Epiſt.*

Suidas tells a like ſtory (for that there were more examples then one in this kind, *Libanius* implies) of a Chian, named *Cyrſas*, who comming to *Athens* to hear *Socrates*, went to his Tomb, and ſlept there, to whom *Socrates* appeared in a dream, and diſcourſed with him; with which only ſatisfaction he went directly home again.

* *Socrat. Epiſt.* *By theſe accidents the Athenians were awakened into a ſenſe

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ſenſe of their injuſtice, conſidering they were obnoxious to the cenſure of the Lacedæmonians by extraordinary crimes' whoſe children were ſo affectionate to the Philoſophers whom they had murdered, as to take ſuch long journeys to ſee *Socrates*, whom they would not keep when he was with them; hereat they became ſo exaſperated, that they were ready to tear thoſe wicked men, that were the occaſion of his death, peece-meal with their teeth, the whole City cried out, they diſclaimed the act, and that the authors thereof ought to be put to death, *Antiſthenes* furthered their rage by this means. *Some young men of* Pontus *invited to* Athens *by the fame of* Socrates, *met with* Antiſthenes, *who carried them to* Anytus, *telling them, he was much wiſer then* Socrates; *whereupon thoſe that were preſent, with much indignation, turned* Anytus *out of the City*: thence he went to *Heraclea*, where ſome ſay the Citizens alſo expelled him, * others that they ſtoned him to death: *Melitus* was by the Atheniaus condemned and put to death, * others affirme the like of all his accuſers without tryall, * *Plutarch*, that *they ſo much hated them, as they would not ſuffer them to kindle fire at their houſes, they would not anſwer them any queſtion, they would not waſh with them, but threw away the water they had touch'd, as impure, unwill unable to brook this hatred, they hanged themſelves.*

* Laert. vit. Antiſth.

* Themiſt. Orat. 2.

* Laert.

* Diod. Sic. 14.

* Socratic. Epiſt.

* De invid. & odio.

In further teſtimony of their penitence, they called home his friends to their former liberty of meeting, they forbad publick ſpectacles of games and wreſtling for a time, they cauſed his Statue, made in braſſe by *Lyſippus*, to be ſet up in the *Pompeum*, and (a Plague enſuing, which they imputed to the injuſtice of this act) they made an order, that no man ſhould mention *Socrates* publickly, or on the Theater, that ſo they might forget what they had done: *Euripides* (reſtrained by this order from doing it directly) reproached them covertly in a Tragedy, named *Palamedes* (in whom he alluded to *Socrates*) particularly in theſe verſes,

A Philomele neer miſchiefe knew,
Is ſlain (alaſſe) is ſlain by you.

* Τὸν ἐδὺ ἀλιτήριον φόνον. For φῶνον, ſeems to have been ſome gloſſe to explain ἀνδρὸς. So Callimach. Epigr. Ἀε δὲ τὸν ζωὸν ἀνδρὸς. * In Alcest.

At which words, all the ſpectators underſtanding they were meant of *Socrates*, fell a weeping.

The death of this ſole perſon (ſaith * *Eunapius*) *brought a generall calamity upon the City; for it may eaſily be collected by computation of times, that from thence forward the Athenians did nothing conſiderable, but the City by degrees decayed, and with it all* Greece.

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CHAP. XV.

Of his person and vertues.

As to his person, he was * very unhandsome, of a melancholy complexion, * bald, * a flat nose, eyes sticking out, a severe down-cast look, difficult in speech, and * too concise, his language rough and careless, but more efficacious then all the eloquence of *Themistocles*, *Pericles*, or any other; so acute, that he could maintain either side in any question, and therefore is reproached by *Aristophanes*, as having two languages, whereof one was to defend wrong; fervent in dispute, often so transported, that he would beat himselfe, and tear his beard, to the derision of the standers by, which he took quietly: Patient to be redargued; * sometimes he covered his face in discourse, that he might not be diverted by any object of sight: * His constitution strong and hardy, * which he preserved such, by taking diligent care of his health; * well bearing cold, hunger, and upon occasions, excesse of wine without disturbance: * His habit the same in winter as in summer, having but one garment a year; * no shooes, his diet sparing. In fine, his countenance promised so little, that * *Zopyrus* a Physiognomist who undertook to discover the dispositions of men by their lookes, said, he was stupid, because there were obstructions in his jugular parts; adding, he was given to women and many other vices; whereat *Alcibiades*, and other friends of his that were present, knowing him free from those imputations, fell a laughing; but *Socrates* justified his skill, answering, he was by nature prone to those vices, but suppresst his inclinations by reason, whence * *Alcibiades* used to say, he resembled the image of *Silenus* (* as he did indeed in his countenance, baldnesse, and flat-nose) carved on the outside of little boxes, sitting, and playing on a Pipe, for as those boxes within held images of the Gods, so was he adorned with chastity, integrity, and all inward beauty, ravished as * *Plutarch* saith, with a divine zeal to vertue, in all kinds whereof, *Xenophon*, *Laertius*, and others, assert these instances.

* *He was so wise, that he never erred in judging betwixt better and worse, nor thereto needed any others help.* Yet he constantly professed, that he only knew that he knew nothing; * for which reason he was by the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, declared of all men the most wise, in this manner to *Charephon*, many witnesses being present;

* *Wise* Sophocles, *wiser* Euripides,
But wisest of all men is Socrates.

Apollo

* *Plat.* Phædr. *Theætet.*
* *Schol. Aristoph.*
* *Plat.* Phædr. *Theætet.*
* *Plat.* Protagor.
* *Plut.* Phædr.
* *Sen. Epist.* 1. 103.
* *Xenoph. mem.* 1. *Laert.*
* *Plat. Sympos.*
* *Socrat. Epist. Liban.*
* *Plat.* Phædr.
* *Cicer. Tusc. quæst.* 5. & *de fato.*
* *Plat. conviv.*
* *Schol. Aristoph.* p. 136.
* *Adversus Colot.*
* *Xenoph.*
* *Plut. adversus Colot. Liban. Apolog.*
* *Schol. Aristoph.*

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* *Apollo* (saith *Cicero*) conceiving the only wisdome of mankind to consist in not thinking themselves to know those things whereof they are ignorant. * This Oracle, though he were nothing exalted with it himselfe, procured him much envy. * Academ. quæst. 1. * Laert.

* *He was so religious, that he never did any thing, without advising first with the Gods,* * *never was known to attempt or speak any impiety.* * He bare a reverence to the Gods, not human, but such as transcended the greatest fear: * Some say it was out of his great reverence to the Divinity that he used to swear by (* a Cock) a Dog, and a Plane-Tree, (under which they used to sit) though it were interpreted Atheisme. * Xen. memor. 4. p. 818. * Xen. mem. 1. p. 710. * Plat. Philib. * Suid. * Schol. Aristoph.

* *He was constant, and a lover of the publick good, as appears in his acquitting the ten Captains, in his denying the thirty Tyrants to fetch Leon in, his refusing to escape out of Prison, and in pitying such as grieved for his death.* * *Xantippe* used to say, that when the State was oppresst with a thousand miseries, he alwaies went abroad and came home with the same look, (* never more cheerfull, or more troubled) for he bore a mind smooth and cheerfull upon all occasions, far remote from grief, and above all fear. In his declining age, falling sick, he was asked by one that came to visit him, how he did? Very well (saith he) either way; if I live, I shall have more æmulation, if I dy, more praise. * Laert. * Ælian. 9. Cic. Tusc. quæst. 3 offic. 1. * Plin. 7. 19.

* *He was so temperate, that he never preferred that which is pleasant before that which is wholsome.* He never did eat more then appetite (which was his sauce) made delightfull; all drink was pleasing to him, because he never drank but when he was thirsty, and then with such temperate caution, that * he powred out the first draught of water upon the ground, and if he were at any time invited to a feast, he, which to others is very difficult, with much ease took care not to eate more then consisted with his health, * whereof he was very carefull, because the exercises of the soule depend thereon; and in order thereto, used to walk constantly before meals; whereupon being asked by one that observed it, what he did? I get broth, saith he, for my supper. To this temperance it is imputed, though *Athens* were often in his time visited with the pestilence, he alone escaped it. *Xenoph. mem. 4. p. 818. * Phæ. * Xen. mem. 1. p. 712. * Ælian. 13.

* *He was so frugall, that how little so ever he had, it was alwaies enough.* * wanting the means to live splendidly, he sought not anxiously how to acquire more, but how to accomodate his manner of life to that which he had, * wherewith he was so contented, that he affirmed himselfe to come neerest the Gods, because he wanted least. Seeing the great variety of things exposed to sale, he would say to himselfe, how many things there are that I need not; and often had in his mouth these verses, * Xenoph. memor. 1. p. 711. * Liban. * Laert.

Purple

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Purple, which Gold and Gems adorn,
Is by Tragœdians to be worn.

Ælian. 9. *Alcibiades* ambitiously munificent, sent him many great presents; *Xantippe* admiring their value, desired him to accept them: We (answered *Socrates*) will contest in liberality with *Alcibiades*, not accepting, by a kind of munificence what he hath sent us.

* Laert. *To the same, who offered him a large plot of ground to build a house upon: And if I wanted shoes, (saith he) would you give me leather to make them? but deserve I not to be derided if I accepted it?

* Laert. *He slighted *Archelaus*, King of *Macedonia*, and *Scopas*, son of *Cranonius*, and *Eurilocus*, son of *Larisæus*, not accepting their money, nor going to them. * Senec. de benefic. 5. 6. *Archelons* sending to him to desire his company; He said, he would not go to one, from whom he should receive benefits, which he could not equall with returne. * Antonin. wit. lib. 18. *To *Perdicas*, who demanded why he would not come to him, he answered, lest I die the most ignoble death; that is, lest I receive a benefit I cannot requite.

Ælian. 9. Coming home late one night from a feast, some wild young men knowing of his return, lay in wait for him, attired like furies, with vizards and torches, whereby they used to affright such as they met: *Socrates*, assoon as he saw them, nothing troubled, made a stand, and fell to question them, according to his usuall manner, as if he had been in the *Lyceum*, or *Academy*.

* Laert. * Stob. 71. * Laert. **He despised those that cavilled at him.* * Being told, that such a one had reviled him behind his back: Let him beat me, saith he, whilst I am not by; and that another spoke ill of him: He hath not yet learnt, saith he, to speak well.

* Plut. de educ. liber. * Being kicked by an insolent young fellow, and seeing those that were with him much incensed, ready to pursue him; he said, what if an Asse kick me, would you have me kick again, or sue him? but the fellow escaped not unpunished, for every one reproached him for this insolence, and called him the reviler, so that at last, for vexation, he hanged himselfe.

Seneca de ira. 3 Another striking him a box on the ear, he said no more, but that it was hard a man knew not when to go abroad with a helmet.

D. Basil. Another fell upon him with much violence, which he endured without the least disturbance, suffering him to vent his anger, which he did so long, till he made his face all swelled and bruised.

Plut. de ira cohib Whensoever he perceived himselfe to grow incensed with any of his friends,

Be-

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Before the ſtorm ariſe,
He to a harbour goes.

He uſed to moderate his voice, to look ſmilingly and moderately upon them, reſerving himſelfe untainted with paſſion, by recourſe to the contrary.

* *He taught not ſuch as converſed with him to be covetous, for he took no mony of his Schollars, therein expreſſing his own liberality.* * Xenoph memor. pag. 712.

* *Hunger or want could never force him to flatter any:* Yet was he very compleaſant and facete in company: as he one day openly at dinner reproved one of his friends ſomething harſhly, *Plato* ſaid to him, had not this been better told in private? *Socrates* immediately anſwered, and had not you done better, if you had told me ſo in private. * Being demanded what countryman he was? He anſwered, neither of *Athens*, nor *Greece*, but of the World. Sometimes he would feaſt in a fine Robe, as *Plato* deſcribes him, and when the time allowed, learned to ſing, ſaying, it was no ſhame to learn any thing which one knew not: He alſo danced every day, conceiving that exerciſe healthfull; * nor was he aſhamed to play with little children. * Laert. * Plut. de exſul. * Senec. de tranquill.

* *He was ſo juſt, that he never in the leaſt wronged any man, but on the contrary, benefited all ſuch as converſed with him, as much as he could.* * Xenopb. memor. 4. p. 818.

* *His continence was invincible:* He deſpiſed the beauty of *Alcibiades*, derided *Theodota* and *Calliſte*, two eminent Curteſans of that time. * Quintil. 8. 4.

* *He took great delight in the converſation of good men; to ſuch he communicated whatſoever he knew; with them he ſtudied the writings of the antient wiſemen, ſelecting what was good out of them* (which confirmes what was ſaid before in the life of *Solon*, that morall Philoſophy was commenc'd by the Sophoi) *and eſteemed this mutuall friendſhip which he contracted with them above all treaſure.* * Xen. memor. 1. p. 731.

* Towards this his outward endeavour was ſo affected and deſired by them, as much as he affected and deſired them. * Xenoph: memor. 2. p. 752.

CHAP. XVI.

His Wives and Children.

HE had two wives, the firſt *Xantippe*, a Citizens daughter of *Athens*, as *Theodoret* affirmes, who addes, that ſhe was diſhoneſt before he married her, even with himſelfe, beſides others: *Athenæus* alſo ſaith, that after he was married, he lent her to a friend, and that *Alcibiades* lay with her: But *Ariſtoxenus* and *Porphyrius*, from whom theſe aſperſions are derived, have been noted of too much malignity, to be of any authority.

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She was (according to the Character * *Agellius* gives her) curst, froward, chiding, and scolding alwaies both day and night, *and for that reason he chose her, as he profest to *Antisthenes*, from observing, that they who would be excellent in horse-manship, chose the roughest horses, knowing, if they are able to manage them, they may easily rule others: He, desirous to use much conversation with men, took her to wife; knowing, if he could bear with her, he might easily converse with all men. To *Alcibiades*, who said, her scolding was intollerable, he profest it was nothing to him, being used to it, like such as live in the continuall noise of a mill: Besides, saith he, cannot you endure the cackling of hens; but they, answered *Alcibiades*, bring me Eggs and chickens; and my *Xantippe*, replies *Socrates*, children.

* 1. 17.

* Laert.

Of her impatience, and his sufferance, there are severall instances; * one day before some of his friends, she fell into the usuall extravagance of her passion, whereupon he not answering any thing, went forth with them, but was no sooner out of the doore, when she running up into the chamber, threw down water upon his head, whereat turning to his friends, did I not tell you, saith he, that after so much thunder we should have rain.

* Laert.

Another time she pulled his Cloak off from his shoulders in the open Forum; some friends present counselled him to beat her: Yes, saith he, that whilst we two fight, you may all stand by, and cry, Well done *Socrates*, to him *Xantippe*.

To some other story in the same kind, * *Antonius* alludes in these words; *how* Socrates *looked when he was fain to gird himselfe with a skin*, Xantippe *having taken his cloths away, and carried them forth with her, and what he said to his friends, who out of a modest respectfulnesse, went back, seeing him so attired.*

* Lib. 2. 26.

Having brought *Euthydemus* from the Palæstræ to dine with him, *Xantippe* running to the table, angry, and scolding, overturned it; *Euthydemus* much troubled, rose up, and would have gone away, when *Socrates* did not: a Hen, saith he, the other day did the very same thing at your house, yet I was not angry thereat.

Plut. de ira cohib.

Alcibiades having sent him a curious march-pane, *Xantippe* furiously (as her manner was) threw it out of the basket, and trode upon it; whereat *Socrates* laughing, *and shall not you* (saith he) *lose your share in it.*

Ælian. var. hist. 11. 12.

Another time she offered to go to a publick show attired undecently; take heed, saith he, you be not rather the spectacle then the spectatour.

Ælian. 7. 10. Laert. Stob.

With reason therefore he said, I had three evills, Grammer, Poesy, and an ill wife; two I have shaken off, but my ill wife I cannot.

Stob. 183.

His

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His other wife was named *Myrto*, *Niece to *Lysimachus* daughter of *Aristides*, not the just, as *Laertius*, and from him *Suidas* affirm; but another of that name, the 3d. from him as is observed by *Athenæus*; for the two daughters of *Aristides* the just, could not but be of great age before the 77. Olympiad, wherein *Socrates* was born, long before, which time *Aristides* died an old man in *Exile*; for that *Themistocles* died the second year of the 77. Olympiad is certain, and as *Æmilius Probus* affirms, *Aristides* dyed four years before *Themistocles* was banished *Athens*, hereupon *Plutarch* more cautiously calls her not the daughter, but Niece of *Aristides*. * *Theodoret.*

Some because *Xantippe* (as is manifest from *Plato*) out-lived him, believe he was first married to *Myrto*, but that he had both these wives at the same time, which is attested by *Demetrius Phalereus*, *Aristoxenus* (to whom *Athenæus* saith, that *Aristotle* gave the ground) *Callisthenes* and *Porphyrius*: whence *Aristippus* in his * Epistle to his daughter *Myrto*, adviseth her to go to *Athens*, and above all to honour *Xantippe* and *Myrto*, and to live with them as he with *Socrates*. * *Socratic. Epist.*

The occasion, whereupon the Athenians, who from the time of *Cecrops* had strictly observed single marriage, allowed bigamy; in the time of *Socrates* was this; In the second year of the 87. Olympiad, and the third of the 88. *Athens* was visited extreamly with the pestilence, which attended by war and famine, occasioned so great a scarcity of men, that they made an edict it might be lawfull for any that would to take two wives, *Euripides* made use of this indulgence, and that *Socrates* also did so, is attested by *Satyrus* the peripatetick, and *Hieronymus* the Rhodian, who recorded the order; to which *Athenæus* imputes the silence of the Comick Poets in this particular, who omitted no grounds of reproach. *Plutarch* implies, that he took her out of charity, for she was a widdow (* without any portion or dower) extreamly in want. * *Laert.*

* *Porphyrius* reports, that when these two (*Xantippe* and *Myrto*) quarrell'd, they would at last fall both upon *Socrates*, and beat him, because he stood by and never parted them, but laughed as well when they fought with him, as with one another. * *Theodoret.*

By *Xantippe* hee had a son named *Lamprocles*, who could not brook her impatience so well as his Father, and being vext by her into disobedience, was reclaimed by *Socrates*; Hee died young, as may be gathered from *Plutarch*, who saith, *Timarchus* of *Chæronea* dying very young, desired earnestly of *Socrates* that he might be buried near his son *Lamprocles*, who died but few daies before, being his dear friend, and of the same age. It appears from *Plato*, that he had more sons by her, for in his Apology he mentions three, two grown men, the other a child, which

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which seems to be the same, brought by *Xantippe* to him in prison the day of his death, and as *Plato* describes it, held in her lap.

By *Myrto* he had two sons, the eldest *Sophroniscus*, the youngest *Menedemus* or *Menexenus*, though some say he had *Menedemus* by *Xantippe*.

CHAP. XVII.

His Scholers and Auditors.

* De Oratore. lib. 3.

Wheras (saith * *Cicero*) *many springing from* Socrates *by reason that out of his severall various disputes diffused every where, one laid hold of one thing, another of another; there were some, as it were, so many severall Families differing amongst themselves, much disjoyned and disagreeing; yet all these Philosophers would be called, and conceived themselves to be Socraticks: of these were*

Plato, *from whom came* Aristotle *and* Xenocrates, *the first taking the name of* Peripatetick, *the other of* Academick.

Antisthenes, *who chiefly affected the patience and hardinesse in* Socrates *his discourse, from whom came first the Cynicks, then the Stoicks.*

Aristippus, *who was more delighted with his more voluptuous disputations, from him sprung the Cyrenaick Philosophy.*

Others there were who likewise called themselves Socraticks, but their sects by the strength and arguments of the former are broken and quite extinct: such were.

Phædo *an Elean, who instituted a particular school, from him called* Eliack, *which afterwards was called* Eretriack, *from* Menedemus *who taught at* Eretria, *from him* Pyrrho, *thence the Pyrrhonians.*

Euclid *of* Megara, *institutor of the Megarick school so named from him, from* Clinomachus *his Disciple called the Dialectick, ending in* Zeno *the Cittiean, who introduced the Stoick.*

The Herillians *are named also as a Scot that would be called* Socratick. To these recited by *Cicero*, *Suidas* addes.

Bryso of *Heraclea*, who together with *Euclid* invented disputative logick.

Theodorus sirnamed the Atheist, who invented a peculiar sect called *Theodorean*, the opinion which hee taught was ἀπαθεια indifference.

Other Disciples of *Socrates* there were, who followed his Philosophy, not appropriating out of it any particular sect, and therefore most properly deserve the title of Socraticks, such are *Crito*, *Chærephon*, *Xenophon*, *Æschines*, *Simmias*, *Cebes*, *Glauco* and *Terpsion*.

The last kind of his auditours were those who made no profession of Philosophy, of whom were

Critias

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Critias and *Alcibiades*, who afterwards proved the most ambitious spirits of the Athenians, but it was discovered in neither whilst they convers'd with *Socrates*, either that their youth was not capable of expressing that vice, or that they cunningly complied (as *Xenophon* conjectures) with *Socrates*, in hopes of being by his conversation enabled to manage their forward designes, which as soon as they attempted they left off their friendship with *Socrates*, *Critias* fell from him and converted his affection into hate, because he reproved his love to *Euthydemus*; *Alcibiades* naturally dissolute, was reclaim'd by *Socrates* and continued such whilst he conversed with him; He was of form so exquisite as gave occasion to some to calumniate the friendship betwixt him and *Socrates*, to which effect *Aristoxenus* is cited by *Laertius* and *Athenæus*, and some verses of *Aspasia* by the latter; his vindication we refer to *Plato* and *Xenophon*.

Of *Socrates* his instructions to *Alcibiades* there are these instances.

* He told him that he was nothing of what a man ought to be; that he had no advantage by the greatnesse of his birth above an ordinary Porter; whereat *Alcibiades* much troubled with tears, besought him to instruct him in virtue, and to reform his vices. * *Cicer. Tusc. quæst.* *Plat. conviv.* *Plutarch.*

* Perceiving *Alcibiades* to be exceeding proud of his riches and lands; he showed him a Map of the world, and bad him find *Attica* therein; which done, he desired that he would show him his own lands; he answered, they were not there. Do you boast replies *Socrates* of that which you see is no (considerable) part of the Earth? * *Ælian.* 3. 28.

* *Alcibiades* being by reason of his youth bashfull and fearfull to make an Oration to the people, *Socrates* thus encouraged him, do you not esteem (saith he) that shoomaker (naming him) an inconsiderable fellow? *Alcibiades* assenting, and so likewise (continues he) that crier and that tent-maker? *Alcibiades* granting this, doth not saith he, the Athenian Commonwealth consist of these? if you contemn them single, fear them not in assembly. To these add * *Ælian.* 2. 1.

* The four sons of *Crito* the Philosopher; The eldest *Critobulus* * exceeding handsom and rich, but by *Socrates* (who valued his own estate at five minæ) * demonstrated to be poorer then himself. * *Laert. vit. Crit.* * *Macrob. Saturn.* 7. 3. * *Xenoph. mem.*

The second *Hermogenes*, * whom falling into poverty, *Socrates* perswaded *Diodorus* his friend to entertain. * *Xenoph. mem.*

The third *Epigenes*, * a young man of an infirm body whom *Socrates* advised to study his own health, as that wherein consisted the well-being and knowledge of his mind. * *Xenoph. mem.* 4. p. 786.

The youngest *Ctesippus*.

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* ὄντα μαθητὴς ἐν τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς, Σοφιστικὸς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς καὶ φιλοσοφικοῖς.

Of Poets, *Euripides* (as the writer of his life affirmes) and *Euenus*.

* ὡς ἀναγιγνωσκόμενον μὲν οὐ χαλεπὸν (read εὐκολον, to which effect also Plutarch) μιμεῖσθαι δὲ λίαν δὲ εὐεπίφορον ζηλοῦσθαι πεφυκότος. Dion. Halicarn. in Critic.

Of Oratous *Lysias*, eminent in that kind * easie to be understood, hard to be imitated; hee came to *Athens* in the second year of the 82. Olympiad. *Lysis*, whom of refractory he made pliant, and *Isocrates*, of whom when very young *Socrates* presaged great things. In the number of his Scholars and Auditors were also

* Plat. Apol. * Xenop. mem. 3. p. 772. & p. 774. Laert.

* *Adimantus* and * *Glauco* sons to *Ariſto*, brothers to *Plato*: and *Charmides* son of *Glauco*. *Glauco* before hee was 20. years old had taken upon him to be an Oratour, and aimed at some great office in the Common-wealth, not to be wrought off from this fancy which made him every where appear ridiculous, untill adreſt by some friends to *Socrates*, who made him acknowledge his own errour & ignorance of that which he had undertaken. On the contrary his son *Glauco* of excellent parts, fit for any office in the Common-wealth, yet timerously shunning all publick affairs, was by *Socrates* induced to undertake the Magistracy.

* Plat. Apol.

* *Nicoſtraſtus* son of *Theodotides* and his brother *Theodotus*.

* Plat. ibid.

* *Æantodorus*, and his brother *Apollodorus*.

Lysanias, Father of *Æschines*.

* Xenoph. mem. 2. p. 743.

* *Chærecrates*, brother to *Chærephon*, betwixt whom there was a great quarrel, but reconciled by *Socrates*.

* Plat. Apol.

* *Paralus*, son of *Demodocus* whose brother was *Theages*.

* Plat. Apol.

* *Antiphon* a Cephisiean, Father of *Epigenes*: with whom hee discourses of self-sufficience, teaching *gratis*, and of veracity in

* Memor. 1. p. 729. 731, 732.

* *Xenophon*.

Eumares a Phliasian, and *Xenomedes*, an Athenian.

Besides these, there are with whom *Socrates* discoursed and instructed.

* Xen. mem. 1. p. 725.

* *Aristodemus* sirnamed *the little*, who would not sacrifice, pray, or use divination, but derided all such as did, was by *Socrates* convinc'd.

Xen. mem. 2.

* *Aristarchus* troubled that he had a charge of kindred lying upon him, by *Socrates* converted to a willing liberality towards them.

Xen. mem. 2.

Eutherus, who returning from travell, his lands taken away, his Father having left him nothing, chose rather to follow a trade then to apply himself to friends; but diverted by *Socrates*.

Xen. mem. 2.

Diodorus, whom *Socrates* perswaded to take *Hermogenes*.

Xen. mem. 4.

Euthydemus, who had collected many sentences of Poets and Sophists, thought he excelled all his equalls, and hoped no lesse

of

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of his ſuperiours, was by *Socrates* conſtrained to acknowledge his own errour and ignorance; and departed much troubled.

Hippias an Elean, with whom *Socrates* diſcourſed of Juſtice. *Xen. mem. 4.*

* *Nicomedes*, *Pericles* and *Iphicrates*, with whom he diſcourſed concerning the office of a General. * Into the laſt he infuſed courage by ſhowing him the Cocks of *Midas* * bruſtling againſt thoſe of *Callias*. * *Xenoph.* * *Laert.* * Μεγύονεδιον eſt quod gallinas Indicas facere videmus aliquando tumentes & caudam pandentes.

* *Theætetus* diſputing of knowledge, he diſmiſt, inſpired as it were with divine wiſdom.

* *Euthyphron* who intended to accuſe his own Father, hee diſſwaded. * *Plat. Laert.* * *Plat. Laert.*

With *Parrhaſius* a painter, *Clito* a Statuary, and *Piſtias* an armourer; hee diſputes in * *Xenophon* concerning their ſeverall arts. * *mem. 3.*

CHAP. XVII.

His writings.

THey who affirm that *Socrates* writ nothing (as *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Dion Chryſoſtom*, *Ariſtides*, *Origen*, and others) mean in reſpect to his Philoſophy, in which kind he never wrote any thing himſelf, but what he diſcourſed was committed to writing by *Xenophon*, *Plato* and others of his Scholers. Hence the works of *Plato* (particularly *Phædo*,) went under the name of *Socrates*, and are ſo cited by *Ariſtotle*; But that ſome things were written by *Socrates* himſelf, is evident from thoſe who affirm.

* *He writ together with* Euripides, and aided him in making Tragedies, whence *Mneſilochus*. * *Laert.*

The Phrygians is Euripides *new play.*
But Socrates *gave it the beſt aray.*

And again, *Euripides is ſteer'd by* Socrates *and* Callias.

Now thou with pride and ſelf-conceit ore-flowe ſt,
But all the cauſe to Socrates *thou oweſt.*

Hither refer wee that of * *Cicero*, who ſaith, when *Euripides* made his play *Oreſtes*, *Socrates* revoked the three firſt verſes. He writ alſo *Tuſc. queſt. 4.*

Some Fables of Æſop *in verſe*, not very elegant, mentioned by *Plato*, *Plutarch*, and *Laertius*, beginning thus:

To

To those who dwelt in Corinth, *Æsop said,*
Vertue with vulgar wisdome be not weigh'd.

A Pæan or hymne in honour of Apollo *and* Diana: **One that went under his name beginning thus.**

Dælian Apollo, *and thou fair*
Diana, *hail; immortall pair.*

is by *Dionysidorus* denyed to be his: This is mentioned also by *Plato*, to which some adde

* *The Encomium of* Gryllus, *son of Xenophon*, slain in the Mantinean fight, which the disagreement of times will not allow; more certain it is he framed

* *Dialogues*, which he gave to *Æschines*, seeing him in want, that he might get mony by them; to these adde

Epistles, some whereof are published by *Leo Allatius*; that he write more is implyed by *Arrian* and *Athenæus*

* Laert. vit. Xenoph.

* Laert. vit. Æschin.

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Socrates his Epistles.

Epist. I.

YOu seem unacquainted with my resolutions, els you would not have sent the second time, and enlarged your offers; but you believe *Socrates*, as well as the Sophists, mercenary of his counsell, * and that what I write before was not reall, but only to draw greater vertues from you: therefore now you promise wonders, in confidence to oblige me by your many presents to quit my interest and commerce with the Athenians, and to come over with you: I think it most unbeseeming a Philosopher to sell his advice, and extreamly contrary to my practise; for ever since by Gods command I first entered into Philosophy, I was never known to take any thing, but keep my exercises in publick, * for every one to hear that will; I neither lock the door when I teach, as is reported of *Pythagoras*, nor go abroad to the multitude, and exact money of the hearers, as some heretofore have done, and some in our times yet do; I have enough from within my selfe, should I accept of more from others, I know not where to deposite it, nor whom to trust better then the givers themselves, whose faith, if I suspect, I shall be thought improvident to confide in, if honest, I can receive from them, though I lay up nothing with them; for they that would be faithfull keepers of mony, will not be unfaithfull preservers of their own gratitude, & they wil never go about to defraud me of what they would have given, but receiving that of me gratis, for which others take mony, they will * confider me when I want. In a word, if friends, they will, * like you, impart of their own to us, if not friends, they will seek to deprive us of what is ours.

Besides, I have not leasure to hoard up mony, but wonder at them that say, they get riches * for their own sake, and have a high opinion of themselves for their means, who neglect learning to addict themselves to gain, and so become admired for their riches, derided for their ignorance, esteemed for all things except themselves. * But if we so much abhorre to have recourse to friends, * to depend on others to eat their bread, how comes it that we are not ashamed to suffer the same from mony? do we not know that these men are respected only for their wealth, and if fortune turne, they live in all disrespect? they are not fully contented when they are in esteem, because it is not for their own sakes, but in disesteem are much

* *Allatius otherwise.*

τῶ ἀὶ ὄντι τε, ἢ μή. *In this sense the words are passable (so is not the interpretation of Allatius, æque omnibus audiendi etiam si nolint potestate facta.) But I conceive the words of Socrates were* τῶ ἀλογιτικῶ μή.

* *Allatius otherwise.*
* *For* αἰς ὑμῖν, *reading* ἀς ἐμοι ὑμῖν.

* *This interpretation seemes to be confirmed by the particle* καί, *before* ἀυτὸς.
* *otherwaies Allatius.*
* *reading* πρόσημα.

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more discontented, being themselves the cause of their own dishonour.

First, therefore you were mistaken, if you did imagine *Socrates* would do that for mony which he would not without, not knowing that many occasions, but chiefly the necessities of my country detain me: wonder not that I say I discharge my countries business, being not imployed either in Army or Court, every one ought to apply himselfe to that which he is capable of, * things above his reach he must leave to others, and perform those that are within his compasse: and in such Cities as this, not only counsellors or commanders for sea or land are requisite, but some likewise, that may * admonish others in their offices; for it is *nothing strange, that they fall as it were asleep, under the weight of their charge, and need a goad to waken them: Over these God hath placed me, for which I become, and not without cause, odious to them.

But he, in whom I most confide, will not suffer me to go, he knowes better then my selfe what is good for me; when I resolved to come to thee, he with-held me, and when thou sentest the second time, forbid me, I dare not disobey him; *Pindar* taught this wisdome, saying, *when God paints out the beginning of any work, it is the direct way to obtain vertue, the end glorious*: The verses are much to this purpose. Other Poets have said as much of the Gods, that what is undertaken with their advice, succeeds well, but what without God, is unprofitable to the undertakers. The wisest Cities of *Greece* consult the Oracle of *Delphi*, and as many as follow it have good successe, who do not most commonly receive prejudice.

Yet I not wonder, if you give no faith to what I deliver of the Dæmon, for I have met with not a few alike incredulous; most of those that were in the Delian fight did not believe me; I was then in armes, and sallied forth the City with the people to skirmish, many of us were dispersed in flight, and as we came to a certain way, the accustomed sign came upon me; I stopt, and said, in my opinion, friends, we should not go this way, for I heard the Dæmons voice: the greater part were angry, as if I had trifled at a time so serious; some few were perswaded to go along with me another way, and got safe home; one that came from the others brought word they were all slain, some horsemen returning from the pursuit, had fallen upon them, whom they at first resisted, but being at last enclosed by them, who were more in number, they gave back, and were in the end oppressed and killed; he that brought this newes was dangerously wounded, and escaped only by help of his shield. I have also by instructions from God, foretold many events to particular persons.

You offer part of your Kingdome, and invite me to it, not as

* ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἐτέρων ἔχων τὴν ἐπιστασίαν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἄλλος ἐπιστατῶν; *Others* τῶν μὲν ἐτέρων; *by which we may have some light to finde perhaps the true reading*, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἑτέρων ἔχων τὴν ἐπιστασίαν.

* *Allatius otherwise.*

* *Perhaps* ἔδειν θαυμαστόν.

as to a changed government, but to rule both your subjects and your selfe: but I confesse, I have not learned to command, and would no more undertake to rule, not knowing how then to play at dice, having never been taught: And doubtlesse if other men were of the same mind, there would be fewer troubles in life; whereas now the confidence of such as are ignorant, undertaking things they do not understand, occasions these many disturbances: Hence is it, they make fortune greater then she is, and by their own folly, increase her power. Besides, I am not ignorant, that a King ought to be more honoured and admired then a private person, and as I would not undertake to be a horseman having no skill in Horsemanship, but had much rather be a footman, though the charge be lesse honourable: the same is my opinion as touching Kings and private persons, nor puffed up by ambition will I desire more glorious afflictions: they who invented the fable of *Bellerophon* seemed to imply something to this purpose, for he was oppresst with misfortunes, not because he sought to rise higher in place, but for aiming at things above him, and being thrown down from his hopes, led the rest of his life poorly and ignominiously, driven by mocks out of Cities into the Wilderness, and shunning path-wales, not what we commonly call so, but the freedome wherewith every one orders his life. But let this be taken how the Poets please; my resolution you now hear again, that I will not change this place for that, *conceiving this fittest for me: nor is God willing I should, who hath been ever untill now, my counsellor and guide.

* ἀμείνω δοκῶν Others, ἀμείνων δοκῶν. Perhaps ἀμείνονα ἔσεσθαι δοκῶν. Or ἐμμενεῖν δοκῶν.

Epist. II.

YOu are not ignorant how great esteem we have of *Chærephon*, who being chosen Ambassadour by the City to the Peloponnesians, will perhaps come to you; a Philosopher is entertained with small trouble, but the journey is dangerous, especially, because of the tumults that are there at this time, from which, if thou protect him, thou wilt preserve our friend, and infinitely engage us.

Epist. III.

ANeso of *Amphipolis* was commended to me at *Potidæa*, he is now coming to *Athens*, being thrown out of his house by the people; for at present, affairs are much embroiled and clouded there, but I believe within a little while they will cleer up. In assisting you will oblige a deserving person, and benefit both the Cities; *Amphipolis*, lest by rebelling it incurre irremediable danger: Ours, lest we be involved in their troubles

as

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as at this preſent we are reduced almoſt to extremity for *Potidæa*.

Epiſt. IIII.

MEeting with *Critobulus*, I perſwaded him to ſtudy Philoſophy, but I think he is of another mind, and more addicted to affairs of State, in which he intends to make choice of the fitteſt method, and beſt inſtructor for the moſt excellent ſojourne now in *Athens*, and with many of them we are intimate. Thus much concerning him; as for us, *Xantippe* and the children are well, and I continue to do, as when you were with me.

Epiſt. V.

* *Read* Περὶ τῶν Κύρου πραγμάτων ὅπως διαβαλοῦσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

WE hear you are at *Thebes*, and * *Proxenus* gone into *Aſia*, to take part with *Cyrus*; whether your deſignes will proſper God knowes, they are here condemned by many, for it is conceived unfit the *Athenians* ſhould aſſiſt *Cyrus*, through whoſe means they were deprived of command by the Lacedæmonians, and fight for him, who fought againſt them. It is not therefore ſtrange if the ſtate being altered, ſome be ready of themſelves to accuſe you of temporiſing, and the better your ſucceſſe is, the greater will be their calumnies; for I am well acquainted with the diſpoſitions of ſome of them: But ſince we have undertaken this, let us prove our ſelves honeſt men, and call to mind what we uſe to ſay of vertue, accounting this one of the beſt ſentences of the Poet, Our Fathers houſe muſt not be diſcredited. Know therefore, that to war, theſe two are requiſite, Courage and Bounty, for this, we are loved of our friends, for that, feared of our enemies, of both, thou haſt domeſtick precedents.

Epiſt. VI.

IHave taken ſuch care of your ſtrangers as you deſire, & retained one to plead their cauſe before the people, * a friend of ours, who profeſt himſelfe the readier to undertake it, out of his deſire to ſerve thee.

* *Perhaps Lyſias.*

As for that which you write in jeſt concerning wealth, and ſuch as are ſollicitous for it, perhaps it is not unreaſonable. Firſt, becauſe whilſt others ſtudy to be rich, I chooſe to live meanly. Then though I might receive many gifts and legacies from living and dead friends; yet I freely diſclaim them, and for a man thus enclined to be by others judged mad, is nothing ſtrange: But we muſt examine not this onely, but the reſt of our

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our lifes and since we disagree in the use, no wonder that wee differ in the acquisition of *Riches; my diet is very sparing, my habit the same in winter as in summer: I never wear shoes, I am not taken with Popular applause, but with the study of wisdom and integrity. But they who are intemperate, Luxurious in meat, not every year, but every day putting on new apparell are transported with unlawfull delights, and as they who lose their naturall complexion have recourse to paint. So these losing the true glory of virtue which every one ought to have, flie to that which depends upon complaisance with others, courting vulgar applause with Largesses and feasts. Hence I suppose it comes, that they need much wealth; They themselves cannot live upon a little, nor will others admit them into their society, unless they receive a salary for commending them.

* For σωμάτων read χρημάτων.

But my life is well as to both these, I will not deny but in some things I may fail, I know that wisest men prefer those, most men these; Reflecting sometimes within my selfe upon God; I find that he exceeds us, in that he hath need of nothing; it is the property of a most excellent nature not to want any thing, and to comprehend within himself all that he enjoyes. Thus is he wiser then others, who imitates the most wise* and happier, who resembles the most happy. If riches could do this, riches were to be preferr'd; but since vertue only can obtain it, it were folly to forsake the reall good to pursue the seeming. Hence I cannot easily be perswaded but that my Condition is better then theirs.

* Read μακαριώτατος παρέχειν, &c.

As for children, who as you say ought to be provided for, the care that I take for them all men may see, I know but one ground of hapinesse, wisdom. The fool who reposeth his trust in gold, possesseth not that which he hath, and is withall so much more miserable then others, in that they who are oppress with poverty may grow wise hereafter. But he out of an opinion of his own happinesse, neglecting true gain corrupted with plenty.* Besides that he never yet obtained, mans essentiall good is depriv'd of hope thereof for the future. Nor is it possible that such a man can go on securely to virtue, who is entangled in the flatteries of those who are Masters in all insinuating Arts, and in the Charms of pleasures which glide into the soul through every sense, and drive out all sound and wise judgement. How then can hee choose but give his Children occasion of folly rather then instruction,* who not only in words but actions expresseth that in these things he hath placed his hope, who not proving good, their subsistence fails, and they die miserably for want of food: Justly punish'd for their idlenesse? Parents are by Law enjoyned to bring up their children till they are men. But you, perhaps some Citizen may say to his

* Perhaps, ὡς ἐς ἔτι. χρόνον ἤδη γε τοῦ ἄστους ἀνθρώπου ἀγαθοῦ. ὡς ἀπαντήσεται. ἢ ἀπαντήσεται, ὡς ἐς ἔτι χρόνον ἤδη καὶ τοῦ ἄστους ἀνθρώπου ἀγαθοῦ ὡς ἀπαντήσεται. καὶ τοῦ τῶν μαλ. &c. Certainly Allatius cannot evince ὡς ἐς to be used for ὡς ἀεὶ or ἔτι ὡ. * Others λέγεις μόνον, &c. which I choose, reading immediately after for διδάσκαλος διδασκάλους.

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Sonnes greedy to inherit, ſpare me not dying, and whilſt you live relie for maintenance upon me, though dead not aſhamed to lead a life more lazy then death; you expect that my fortunes ſhould extend to others even after my deceaſe, but your own are not competent for your ſelves whileſt you are yet alive. Such rough ſpeeches happily he will uſe to his Children, taking the libery both of a Father and a Patriot. My fortunes in the eſtimate of other men are mean, but in the effect nothing inferior to the Rich. I will not leave my Children money, but a more honorable heritage, diſcreet friends, whom as long as they keep they can want as neceſſaries, and if they uſe them ill, doubtleſſe they would uſe their money worſe.

But if to you, who know the negligence of friends, I ſeem to give ill advice; I anſwer, that all men are not alike affected to their friends, for ſome take care of them after they are dead, and it is likely that ours are not of a neglectfull humour, but pleas'd with the paſt advantage they have received by us, no leſſe then with the preſent of a ſhort benefit, the requitall is ſhort; laſting benefits produce a return equall to their profit, and I foreſee that what is mine, will hereafter appear more gracious to my friends, and therefore I exact no rewards of them. I account nothing of equal value in exchange with Philoſophy but friendſhip, nor like the Sophiſts have I any diffidence of thoſe things that are mine, for being old they renew, and in their decaying age * flouriſh, which makes them more acceptable to the Diſciples, and their Father more eſteemed; *Living he obtains honour, dead is thought worthy of memory, and if he leave an Kinſman behind him, they will reſpect him like his Nephewes and Brethren, and ſhow him all kindneſſe, as being allied to him by more then a Naturall affinity; Neither if they would, can they neglect him in misfortunes, no more then we can ſlight them, who are near to us in blood; for affinity in ſoul forceth them to relieve the Son of the dead as if he were their own brothers when they call to mind his Father, whoſe diſhonour they account their own.

* Perhaps ἀνανεοῦσι. So Allatius ſeems to read. *For meliùs reading melius.

Now judge if I order my affairs ill, or take no care for my Children, ſo as when I die they ſhall be deſtitue of neceſſaries, who leave them not wealth but ſuch Guardians as will have a care of them, and wealth No Hiſtory makes mention of any man that hath been made better by riches; A tried friend in this is to be preferr'd before tried gold, that he is not beneficiall to every one who deſires him, but to thoſe he love beſt. Nor doth he ſupply onely the neceſſities of life, but is ſerviceable as well to the ſoul of him that hath him, and is moſt conducing to virtue, without which nothing profiteth; but we will conſider more exactly upon theſe things when we meet; thus much ſerve as a curſory anſwer to your demand.

Epiſt.

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Epist. VII.

I Wonder not at what you write, that you do suspect the Thirty continue the same mind to us since your departure, which they had when you were here. As soon as you were gone, they began to have a jealousie of me, and there past amongst them a murmure that these things were not done without *Socrates*; within few daies they cited me to the Court, where some complaints were preferr'd against me, and when I defended my self, they commanded me to go to the Pyræum to apprehend *Leon*, their intention was to put him to death, that they might enjoy his estate, and make me partner in their injustices when I refused, and said something to this effect that I would never willingly subscribe to an unjust act; *Charicles* was present, and inwardly vext, *Socrates* saith he, dost thou think to talk thus peremptorily, and not suffer ten thousand ills? *Charicles*, said I, but none so hainous as to do unjustly. Hee answered not a word, nor any of the rest, but ever since they have liked me the worse.

As for you, some that were then present, reported that your affairs succeed to your wish, that the Thebans in your exile received you kindly, and will assist your return to their utmost. Some were troubled at this news, and the more because it lessen'd their hopes of supply from *Lacedæmon*, for they who came along with the Ambassadours, affirmed, that the Lacedæmonians were engaged in a great war, and the Ephori hearing of those troubles, were discontented, and said, that the Lacedæmonians had not intrusted with the City to see it destroy'd; * for if they would have done so, it were most easie for them who had the Command, being withall instigated thereunto by the Corinthians and Thebans, and that the City might be better govern'd under an Oligarchy then a Democracy. If all this be true, and your affairs succeed as they report, there is great liklyhood that upon you, coming in with the Thebans, the Lacedæmonians not aiding these, all things here may be easily composed. Besides, many of the Natives who now are quiet through fear, ~~if they perceived never~~ so little that you were firme, will readily forsake this party, because in this government of the City, nothing is left them entire, but through many and continuall enormities all is in confusion; the greater part is revolted as well as you, the rest if they had the least encouragement from abroad would suffer the same that you have. So that if no other, yet this example would manifest that the

* Perhaps, ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ τοὺς Θηβαίους, μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπιθῶνται τοῖς ἐνθάδε. &c.

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the greateſt unhappineſſe of Cities is the wickedneſſe of their Rulers, for they are ſo blinded with ſelf intereſt that they will not deſiſt, though they ſee all things go to ruine, but with what they firſt troubled, think to ſettle affairs, continuing baniſhments, ſequeſtrations, and unjuſt deaths: not conſidering he is an ill Phyſician who preſcribes for a Remedy the cauſe of the diſeaſe. But thoſe are incurable; you ſhall doe well to have a care of your ſelf, for all that are here have but this hope left, if you act wiſely to be freed from a heavy and grievous Tyranny.



Clouds.

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THE CLOVDS
of Aristophanes.

Added (not as a Comicall divertisement for the Reader, who can expect little in that kind from a subject so antient, and particular, but) as a necessary supplement to the life of Socrates.

Act I. Scen. I.

Strepsiades, Phidippides, Servant.

Streps. OH, oh,
Great *Jove*, how long a night is this, how endlesse!
Will't neer be day? I heard the Cock again,
Yet still my servants snore; 'tis but of late
They durst do thus: * curse o'this war that awes me,
And will not suffer me to beat the Rogues.
My good Son sleeps too, wrapt ore head and ears:
Well, let me try to bear them company;
Alasse, I cannot, so perplext and tortur'd
With charges, bills for Horse-meat, interest:
All for this hopefull Son, who in's curl'd locks,
Aides matches, keeps his Coach, and dreames of Horses,
Whilst I (unhappy!) see th'unwelcome Moon
Bring on the Quarter day, and threaten use-mony.
Boy, snuffe the light, bring my account-book hither,
That I may summe my debts and interest:
Let's see, twelve pound to *Pasia*; ha! twelve pound
To *Pasia*, how laid out? to buy * *Coppatia*:
Would I had paid this eye for him.
Phid. Hold *Philo*,
You'r out of the way, begin again.
Strep. I this,
This is the misery that ruines me;
His very sleeps are taken up with Horses.
Phid. How many courses will the manage hold.
Streps. Many a weary course thou leads thy Father:
But how much more owe I then this to *Pasia*?

* *The Athenians in time of war with the Lacedæmonians made an Edict, that no man should beat his servants, lest they should go over to the enemy. Schol.*

* *Their horses were named from the marks they had, if a K. Coppatia; if an an S, Samphoras. Schol.*

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Three pound t'*Amynias* for Chariot wheeles.
Phid. Go sirrah, take that horse and turn him out.
Streps. I thou hast turned me out of all my means,
Charges at Law will eat me up, my Creditours
Threaten to sue me to an execution.
Phid. Why do you wake all night, and tosse so Father?
Streps. I cannot sleep, the Scrivener doth so bite me.
Phid. Yet let me rest a little longer.
Streps. Do so.
All these will one day light upon thy head,
Curs'd be the houre when I first saw thy Mother,
I liv'd before most sweetly in the Country,
Well stock't with Sheep and Bees, Olives and Grapes,
Till from the Megaclean house I took
This Neece of *Megacles* out of the City,
Well fashion'd, highly bred, and richly cloathed;
We married, as I said and lay together:
I smelling strong of Drugs and greasie Wool;
But she of Unguents, Crocus wanton Kisses,
Of vain expence, dainties, and luxury;
I will not tell the idle life she led,
And yet she spun that I have often told her,
Showing this Coat, * you spin a fair thread woman.
Serv. Sir, all the Oyle ith' Lamp is wasted.
Streps. Ha?
Why didst thou put in such a Drunken week?
If thou wert neer me I would beat thee.
Ser. Why Sir?
Streps. Because the week is thicker then the oyl.
Well, at last my good Wife and I betwixt us got
At last this Son; about his name we differ'd;
Shee'd have it something that belong'd to horses,
Callippides, *Xanthippus*, or *Charippus*;
I from his Grandfather) *Phidonides*.
Long time we wrangled thus, at last agreed
He should be called *Phidippides*; this Son
She takes, and stroaking kindly, thus instructs him,
"When thou art grown a man, frequent the City,
"Follow the fashion, keep a Coach and Horses,
"Like *Megacles* thy Uncle. No, said I,
"Go in a homely Coat, and drive thy Goats
"Into * *Phelleus*, as thy father doth.
But my advice prevailed so little on him,
That now he wasts my means in keeping horses,
Which all this night I have been thinking how
To remedy, and now have found the way;
To which could I perswade him, I were happy.

* ἀπλᾶν, λεπτὴν ἔριον τὴν ἀπταλᾶν. *Sch. MS.*

* *A stony craggy place in Attica, in such Goats delight most. Soli. M. S.*

Phidip-

Phidippides, Phidippides,
Phid. Your will Sir.
Streps. Kisse me, give me thy hand.
Phid. Here Sir.
Streps. Dost love me?
Phid. By *Neptune* God of Horses.
Streps. Do not name
That God, for 'tis from him springs all my sorrow:
But if thou lov'st me truly, heartily,
O son be rul'd.
Phid. In what should I be rul'd?
Streps. Change without more delay thy course of life,
And do as I would have thee.
Phid. What is that?
Streps. But wilt thou do it?
Phid. Yes by *Bacchus* will I.
Streps. Come hither then, seest thou that little dore?
That is the * *Phrontistherium* of wise soules,
Of learned men, that tell us Heaven's an Oven,
And we the Coles inclosed in the wide arch:
They, if we give 'em but a little mony,
Will teach us gain all causes, right or wrong.
Phid. Who can these be?
Streps. Their names I know not: good
They are, and busied in continuall study.
Phid. Oh now I know the wretches that you mean,
The meager, wan, proud, bare-foot, begging fellowes,
Whose evill Geniuss's are *Socrates*
And *Chærephon.*
Streps. Peace, talk no more so idly;
If you'l obey a father, let me see you
Give ore your horses, and turn one of these.
Phid. Not I, by *Bacchus*, no though you should tempt me
With all * *Leogoras* his breed of Racers.
Streps. Dear son be rul'd and learn.
Phid. What should I learn?
Streps. 'Tis said they have two tongues, and one of them
Able to prove any injustice reason;
Could'st thou but learn that language, we were made,
And might dispute our stubborn Creditours
Out of the debts I have incurr'd for thee;
They get not then a penny more then words.
Phid. I cannot do't, were I so lean and Pale,
I durst not look a Jocky in the face.
Streps. By *Ceres* then you stay with me no longer,
You, nor your Coach-horse, nor your *Samphoras*,

But

* Ἐν ᾧ δηλοῦσι τὰ διάνοιαν φροντίζουσι περὶ ἄνω καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων. Schol. M. S.

* δεξιὸς ἡνίοχος. Schol. M. S.

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But all together pack out of my dores.
My Uncle *Megacles* will neither ſee
Me nor my horſes want, ſo long I care not. *Exit.*

Scene 2.

Strepſiades, Scholar.

Strep. THough I have fail'd, i'l not give over thus,
But ſay my prayers, and go my ſelf to ſchool
To learn this Art: but how can I, by Age
Dull and forgetfull, reach ſuch ſubtleties?
Yet on I will, why ſhould I doubt? ho, friend.
Schol. A miſchief on you, who's that knocks at dore?
Streps. *Strepſiades*, Cecinnian *Ihædo's* Son.
Schol. 'Twas rudely done to knock ſo hard; y'have made
My labouring brain miſcarry of a Notion.
Streps. Forgive me, I was bred far off ith' Country:
But pray what notion was't that prov'd abortive?
Schol. 'Tis lawfull to diſcover that to none
But fellow-ſcholars.
Streps. Then you may tell me,
For I come hither to be one of you.
Schol. I will; ſo will value't as a myſterie.
Socrates t'other day ask'd *Chærephon*
How many of her feet a flea could leap,
For one by chance had bit *Chærephons* eyebrow,
And leap'd from thence upon the head of *Socrates*.
Streps. How could he meaſure this?
Schol. Moſt dexterouſly.
Both feet oth' flea he dipt in melting wax,
Which ſtrait congeals to ſhooes; theſe he plucks off,
And with them moſt exactly meaſures it.
Streps. Great *Jupiter*, how ſubtle are theſe wits!
Schol. If you ſhouldſt hear their other ſpeculations,
You would ſay ſo indeed.
Streps. Pray what was that?
Schol. This *Charæphon* the Sphettian ask'd him once,
If a Gnat ſounded from her mouth or tail.
Streps. And what ſaid he?
It had a ſtrait thin gut,
At end of it a bladder, into which
The air being forc'd, ſounded in breaking forth.
Streps. Then I perceive that a gnat's tail's a Trumpet;
How bleſt is this Anatomiſt of Gnats!
Sure he can hide himſelf from purblind juſtice,
That knows ſo well theſe dark inteſtine waies.

Why

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Why ſhould we cry up *Thales* any longer?
Come open me your Phrontiſterium,
And quickly let me ſee this *Socrates*,
I long to learn, open the dore-- * O *Hercules*
What ſtrange beaſts have we here!
Schol. Why do you wonder?
Whom do they look like think you?
Streps. Like the poor
Lacedæmonian Captives tane at * *Pylus*.
Why look they ſo intently on the ground?
Theſe ſeek out things that appertain to Earth!
Oh they ſeek leeks; trouble your ſelves no more friends,
For I know better where are good and great ones.
Schol. Come let's go in.
Streps. Let's ſtay a while and talk with 'em.
Schol. No, no, they cannot long endure the air.
Streps. What's this, for Heavens ſake ſay?
Schol. This is Aſtronomy.
Streps. And this?
Schol. Geometry.
Strop. But what is't good for?
Schol. To meaſure land:
Streps. What, arable or paſture?
Schol. No, the whole Earth.
Streps. A pretty jeſt indeed.
That were a mighty help to husbandmen.
Schol. Here's all the world, and this is *Athens*.
Streps. How?
I'l ſcarce believe that, what's become oth' Judges?
Where the *Cicynians* my Countymen?
Schol. Here's this *Eubœa*; ſee how far 'tis ſtretch'd.
Streps. I, almoſt ſtretch'd in pieces betwixt us,
And *Pericles*; and where is *Lacedæmon*?
Schol. Here.
Strepss. 'Tis too nigh us, why, with all your skill
Do you not help to thruſt it farther off.
Schol. It is not poſſible.
Streps. No? you will rue't then.
But what man's that hangs yonder in the basket?
Schol. That's he.
Streps. He, what he?
Schol. *Socrates*.
Streps. How, *Socrates*?
Call him.
Schol. Call him your ſelf, I'm not at leaſure.

* *The School diſcovered; the Schollars in ſeverall poſtures: Socrates hanging in a baſket.*
* *Suid. lib.*

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Scene 3.

Strepsiades, Socrates.

Streps. HO *Socrates*
Socr. * Why doſt thou call me mortall?
Streps. Firſt I would gladly know what thou doſt there?
Socr. I walk ith' aire, and gaze upon the Sun.
Streps. Why in a basket doſt thou view the Gods,
Not from the ground?
Socr. I could not elevate
My thoughts to contemplation of theſe myſteries,
Unleſſe my Intellect were thus ſuſpended,
Where my thin thoughts melt into air (their likeneſs)
Stood I upon the ground, I ſhould find nothing,
Though I ſought nere ſo ſtrictly up and down,
For the magnetick vertue of the Earth
Would draw away the humour of my brain,
Juſt as we ſee in noſe-ſmart.
Streps. How, hows that?
Doth the brain draw the humour out of noſe-ſmart?
Come down ſweet *Socrates*, and teach me quickly
The knowledge of thoſe things for which I came.
Socr. What cameſt thou for?
Streps. To learn the art of ſpeaking,
With debts and uſury I'm torn in pieces
Toſt up and down; forc'd to pawn all my goods:
Socr. On what occaſion did you run in debt?
Streps. By horſes eaten into this conſumption;
And I would learn of you your other language
Which teacheth men to pay nothing: for which
By all the Gods i'l give you what you'l ask.
Socr. By all what Gods? we do not here allow
Thoſe Gods the City worſhips.
Streps. How then ſwear you,
By copper farthings like the Byzantines?
Socr. Wouldſt thou be skilfull in divine affairs.
Streps. By *Jove* (if any ſuch there be) I would.
Socr. You muſt be then acquainted with the *Clouds*,
Our reverend Goddeſſes.
Streps. With all my heart.
Socr. Sit down upon this Couch then
Streps. Well.
Socr. Now take
This Garland.
Streps. Why a garland? alaſſe *Socrates*,

* The words of Silenus (whom Socrates reſembled for deformity) in Pindar. Schol.

De'e

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D'ee mean (like *Athamas*) to sacrifice me?
Socr. No, these are rites that every one performes
At his admission.
Streps. But what shall I gain by't?
Socr. Thou shallt be made most voluble in speech,
A very rattle, bolting words as fine
As flower.
Streps. Th'art right by *Jove*, I shall be powderd.
Socr. silence old man, and listen to our prayer.
" Great King, unbounded air, whose armes are hurld
" About the surface of this pendant world,
" Bright Æther, reverend Clouds, that from your Sphear
" Thunder and lightning dart, rise and appear.
Streps. Not yet, not yet, till I have wrapt my selfe
Close in my Cloak, lest I be wet: twas ill
That I forgat to bring my Riding hood.
Socr. " Your power, great Clouds, make to this suppliant known
" Whether now seated on *Olympus* Throne,
" Or whether you your sacred revells keep
" In the wide Gardens of your Sire the deep:
" Or of his flowing Christall seaven-mouth'd *Nile*,
" In golden Ewers wantonly beguile:
" Or in Mauritian marshes keep your Court;
" Or on the snowy top of *Mimas* sport.
" Come, to our servant vowes propitious be;
" Grace with your presence our solemnitie.
" We humid fleeting Deities,
" The bright unbounded clouds thus rise *Chorus of clouds.*
" From our old Sire, the grumbling Flood,
" Above the tallest hill or wood,
" To those high watch-towers, whence we may
" The hallowed fruitfull-ground survey;
" Rivers that in soft murmurs glide,
" And the lowd sea's rebellious tide;
" From thence heavens restlesse eye displaies
" The splendour of his glorious raies,
" Chasing all dusky mists, that we
" In shapes divine may mortalls see.
Socr. Thanks reverend Clouds for favouring thus our prayer.
Did you not hear 'm speak in Thunder to us?
Streps. Great Clouds, I worship too, but am so frighted,
I scarce can hold from answering your Thunder.
Socr. Jest not profanely in such sacred rites:
Peace, for the swarm of Goddesses come singing.
Chor. " Come virgin Mistresses of showers,
" Let's visit *Pallas* pregnant bowers,

" The

"The far renowned Cecropian plain
"Where ſhines the * *Eleuſinian* Fane,
"Where are the moſt retir'd aboads,
"Statues and Temples of the Gods:
"Where Altars blaze with Incenſe, where
"The holy-day laſts all the year;
"Where the briſk Graces every ſpring,
"And youths with virgins dance and ſing.

Streps. Tell me good *Socrates*, what things are theſe
That ſpeak ſo finely? are they Ladies?

Socr. No,
They're *Clouds*, the Deities of idle men;
From theſe we have our ſenſe, diſcourſe, and reaſon,
Our high Capriccio's, and elaborate whimſeys.

Streps. My ſoul, me thought, did leap, while they were ſpeaking,
And now moſt ſubtly would diſpute of ſmoak,
Sharply confute opinion with opinion:
Oh how I long to ſee them once again.

Socr. Look yonder towards *Parnes*, look how gently
They glide to earth.

Streps. Where? ſhow me.

Socr. See in ſholes
They creep into the Caverns of the Mountain.

Streps. What things are theſe? I cannot yet behold 'em.

Socr. There in the entrance look.

Streps. Yet I ſcarce ſee them.

Socr. Either thou ſeeſt them now, or thou art blind.

Streps. I do by *Jove*, great Clouds, for you hold all!

Socr. Didſt thou not know theſe Deities before?

Streps. Not I, I thought them only miſts and vapours:

Socr. Thou kneweſt not then thoſe who maintain the Sophiſts.

Streps. If theſe be Clouds, how comes it that they look
Like women? for the Clouds have no ſuch ſhape.

Socr. No, what ſhape have they then?

Streps. I know not juſtly;
They look ſe flying fleeces, but by *Jove*,
Nothing at all like women; theſe have noſes.

Socr. * Anſwer to what I ask.

Streps. Ask me quickly.

Socr. Didſt ere behold a Cloud ſhap'd like a Centaure,
A Leopard, Bull, or Wolfe?

Streps. I have, what then?

Socr. The Clouds can take what form they liſt, as when
They ſee a hairy fellow curl'd like *Clitus*,
They mock his madneſſe in a Centaures ſhape.

Streps. And when they ſee one that defrauds or plunders
The Common-wealth, like *Simon*, what then do they?

Socr.

* μυστηρια δε ἀγεσθαι. at Eleuſis in Attica were celebrated the myſteries of Ceres, to which Athenians only were admitted, not ſtrangers; if any one diſcovered them to a perſon not initiated, they were both put to death. Schol. M. S.

*The Socratick way of diſpute by queſtion.

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Socr. They do reſemble him, turn ravenous wolves,
This was the reaſon yeſterday, when they
Beheld * *Cleonymus*, they fled like deer:
And ſeeing * *Clisthenes* are now turn'd women.

* *Coward.*
* *Effeminately attired.*

Streps. Great Queens, if you ere deſign to ſpeak to mortalls,
Make me acquainted with your rumbling voice.

Chor. "All hail old man, who doſt on wiſdome prey,
"And thou the Prieſt of ſubtle trifles ſay,
"What wouldſt thou have with us, to none but thee,
"Of all the Meteor Sophiſts thus ſtoop we;
"Save *Prodicus*, to him as grave and wiſe,
"To thee, becauſe thou walkſt upright, thy eyes
"Rowling on every ſide, thy look ſevere
"And barefoot many miſeries doſt bear.

Streps. Good heavens, what voice is this, how ſtrange & ſtately.
Socr. Theſe are our Goddeſſes, the reſt are toyes.
Streps. Is then Olympian *Jove* no Deity?
Socr. What *Jove*? there's no ſuch thing; meer fancy.
Streps. How?
Whence then proceeds all * rain?

Whereof Jupiter was the particular Deity; thence ſirnamed Tus ąuosus.

Socr. Only from theſe.
Didſt thou ere ſee a ſhower without them? take
The Clouds away, and heaven muſt rain fair weather.
Streps. By *Phœbus* thou haſt cleer'd it well, till now
I thought *Jove* made water through a ſive.
But whence comes thunder? when I'me ſick, that frights me,
Theſe thunder as they tumble up and down.
How can that be?
Socr. * When they are full of water,
By their own weight, driven upon one another,
They roar and break.

* *Deriding Socrates as ignorant in Naturall Philoſophy.*

Streps. But who is it that drives them,
Is not that *Jove*?
Socr. No, an ætheriall whirlewind.
Streps. A whirle-wind, hum! I knew not that til now.
But whence comes lightning then, that glittering fire
Which terrifies and burns us? *Jupiter*
Uſeth to dart this down on perjur'd men.
Socr. And how (thou phlegmatick, dull Saturnian,)
If darted on the perjur'd, how comes *Sinon*,
Theorus, and *Cleonymus* to 'ſcape it?
No, his own Temple, or the Sunian Promontory,
Or ſturdy Oakes he ſtrikes, did they ere wrong him?
Did the Oak ere forſwear it ſelfe?
Streps. I know not:
That which you ſay ſeems reaſon; but what then
Is lightning?

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Socr. When the winds are ſhut up cloſe,
They ſwell the clouds like bladders, and at laſt
Break out with violence and horrid noiſes;
And by contrition kindle one another.
But thou who ſearcheſt amongſt us for wiſdom,
How happy wilt thou be above all Græcians
If thou conceive well, and remember, and
Canſt ſuffer much, and never wilt be tir'd
Standing or walking, nor have ſenſe of froſt,
Nor care for dyning, and refrain from wine,
From exerciſes, and all other toyes.
Streps. O for a ſolid ſoul reſtleſſe with cares,
Sparing, ſelf-torturing, one that can feaſt
Upon a diſh of herbes, you never could
Be better fitted; a meer anvile I.
Socr. Doſt thou believe no Gods but thoſe we teach,
The Chaos, Clouds and Tongue, onely theſe three.
Streps. I'l not ſo much as ſpeak of any other,
Much leſſe beſtow an offering on their Altars.
Chor. " Say boldy then, ſay what is thy requeſt,
" For if thou honour us thou ſhalt be bleſt.
Streps. Great Queens I ſue for a ſmall matter, that
I may out-talk all Greeks a hundred furlongs.
Chor. " To thee alone this gift we will allow,
" None ſpeak ſuch mighty ſentences as Thou.
Streps. I do not care for mighty ſentences,
But ſubtle ones to cheat my Creditours.
Chor. " It is not much thou askſt, and ſhalt obtain it,
" Learn of our Miniſters and thou ſhalt gain it.
Streps. I ſhall, relying on your promiſe; forc'd
By want, *Coppatia* and a luckleſſe match.
Now let 'em uſe me as they liſt, beat, ſtarve me,
Burn, freeze, or flea me, ſo I ſcape my debts:
I care not though men call me impudent,
Smooth-tongu'd, audacious, petulant, abhominable,
Forger of words and lie, contentious Barretour,
Old, winding, bragging, teſty, crafty fox.
Socr. Said like a man of courage: if thou learn
Of me, thy fame ſhall ſpread wide as the Heavens.
Streps. What ſhall I do?
Socr. Thou ſhalt ſpend all thy time
With me; a life the happieſt in the world.
Streps. I long to ſee that day.
Socr. Thy dore ſhall alwaies
Be throng'd with Clients that will come to thee
For Counſell, and diſcourſe of caſes worth
The wealth of kingdoms, to thy hearts deſire.

Chor.

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Chor. "Try this old man; first see if he be fit;
"Put him toth' test, and sound the depth of's wit.
Socr. Come tell me now your disposition,
That when I know it I may fit my Machines
Accordingly.
Streps. You will not undermine me.
Socr. No, I would know if you have any memory.
Streps. Yes, when another owes me any thing,
I can remember very well, but what
I owe my self, i'm ready to forget.
Socr. Hast thou a naturall faculty in speaking
Streps. No, I can mar words sooner far then make 'em.
Socr. How wilt thou learn then?
Streps. Fear me not, I tell you
Wel, when I make some learned deep discourse.
Socr. * You must be sure to catch't up presently.
Streps. What must I snap at learning like a dog?
Socr. This is a very fool, an unknown Clown;
I am afraid old man thou wilt need whipping.
What if thou shouldst be beaten?
Streps. Then i'm beaten.
Socr. But what wouldst do?
Streps. I would take witnesse on't
And sue them on an action of Battery.
Socr. Off with your Cloak.
Streps. Why, how have I offended?
Socr. No; but our orders admit none but naked.
Streps. I came not hither to steal any thing.
Socr. Down with your Cloak, why dost thou trifle.
Streps. Now
Tell me if I prove apt and diligent,
Of all your schollars who shall I come nigheſt?
Socr. Thou maist perhaps be like our *Chærephon.*
Streps. Alasse, alasse! what an Anatomy?
Socr. No, no: but if thou wilt be any thing,
Follow me without more delay.
Streps. I want
A Cake for your *Cerberus*; I go me thinks
As if 'twere into the Trophonian Cave.
Socr. On, on, why stayst thou gazing at the dore.
Chor. "Go, for thy courage blest whose aged mind
"To wisdom soars, and leaves the young behind.

Exeunt.

* *As the Schollers of Socrates used, especially Xenephon and Plato.*

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Act. 2.

Socrates, Strepsiades.

Socr. BY *Chaos*, and this air I breath, I never
Met any thing so stupid as this fellow,
So clowniſh and obliviouss easie toyes
He learns, not half so fast as he forgets 'em,
I'l call him forths what, ho, *Strepsiades*;
Come out and bring your bed along with you.
Str. The fleas will hardly let me bring my self.
So. Quick, down with't there; and mark what I say to you.
Str. I'm ready.
So. What have you most mind to learn,
Measures, or Verse, or Rhyme?
Str. By all means measures;
For I was cheated by a Meal-man lately
Two pecks.
So. That's not the thing I demand;
I'de know which you conceive the faireſt measure,
The *Trimeter* or the *Tetrameter*.
Str. The faireſt measure in my mind's a Buſhell.
So. 'Tis nothing that you say.
Str. What will you lay
That your Tetrameter holds not a Buſhell.
So. Away, away, how dull thou art, and blockiſh.
But thou wilt be perhaps more apt at Rime.
Str. What help can rimes afford me in my meal.
So. Firſt they wil make thee pleaſant in all company.
Then thou ſhalt know which ſuits with Anapæſtick,
And which with Dactyles.
Str. Dactiles? I know that ſure.
So. Why what's a Dactyle.
Str. What, but this ſame finger,
'Thas been a Dactyle ere ſince I was a child.
So. Th'art an unprofitable Dunce.
Str. I care not
For learning theſe devices.
So. What then wouldſt thou?
Str. That, that unjuſt and cheating Sophiſtry.
So. But there are things that muſt be learnt before
You come to that; what Creatures are there Maſculine.
Str. Sure I know that or I were mad indeed.
A Ram, a Bull, a Goat, a Dog, a Pigeon.

So.

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So. * See how thou err'ſt, that call'ſt both male and female A Pigeon.

* Deriding Socrates as ignorant in Grammer.

Str. Right, by *Neptune*, how then muſt I?

So. Call this a Cock-Pigeon, and that a Hen.

Str. A Pigeon, Cock and Hen, ha! by this air,
For this ſole document, I will repleniſh
Your *Cardopus* with meal.

So. Again th'art wrong;
Thou call'ſt it *Cardopus*, but 'tis *hæc Cardopus*,
And therefore henceforth call it *Cardopa*.

* A meal-trough the Greek word hath a Maſculine termination but feminine article.

Next it is fit you know which names are Maſculine,
And which are feminine.

Str. I know well which
Are feminine, I'me ſure.

So. Lets hear.

Str. *Philina*,
Cletagora, *Demetria*, and *Lyſtha*.

So. And which are Maſculine?

Str. A world, *Philoxenus*,
Mileſias, and *Amynias*.

So. Thou art out.

Str. Are not theſe Maſculine with you?

So. * By no means.

* Effeminate Cowards.

How if you ſaw *Amynias*, would you call him?

Str. *Amynia*, ho!

So. What, make a woman of him.

Str. And reaſon good, h'has thrown away his armes,
And will not fight. But to what purpoſe learn I
Theſe common trifles.

So. Not ſo common neither,
But come, lie down.

Str. What muſt I do?

So. Conſider
With your ſelfe the buſineſſe that concernes you.

Str. Not in this bed, I thank you, if I muſt
Lie down, Ile meditate upon the ground.

So. But heres no room beſides.

Str. Wretch that I am.
How I ſhall be tormented with theſe fleas!

So. Now think into the depth of thy affairs,
Try every turn and winding, every double;
And if you ſtick at any thing: give't ore,
And to ſome other; but be ſure you ſleep not.

Str. Oh, oh.

So. How now the matter?

Str. I am kill'd
By theſe blood-ſuckers, theſe Corinthians.

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So. Do not torment your ſelfe.
Str. How can I chooſe
When I have neither mony left, nor colour,
Scarce life, no ſhooes, grown almoſt to a Ghoſt
With watching?
So. Now what think y'on, nothing?
Str. Yes
By *Neptune*.
So. What?
Str. I'me thinking if the fleas
Will leave a piece of me or not.
So. Death on thee.
Str. You might have ſpar'd your curſe, I'm dead already.
So. Fy, fy, you muſt not be ſo tender, * cover
Your face, and ſtudy for ſome ſubtle cheat.
Str. Would I could learn to cheat theſe wicked fleas.
So. Let's ſee what does he? what, aſleep, ha'ye thought
Of nothing yet?
Str. What would you have me think on?
So. What would you learn?
Str. I've told you that already
A thouſand times; I'd learn to pay no uſe-mony.
So. Come then, cover your ſelf, and ſubtilize
Your thoughts, diſſect your buſineſſe into Atomes.
Str. Alaſſe.
So. Ly ſtill; and if you ſtick at any thing,
Paſſe by't a while, and come to it again.
Str. Ho, my dear *Socrates*.
So. What is't old man?
Str. I have found out that will do't.
So. As how.
Str. Firſt tell me
Where I may meet with ſome Theſſalian witch;
For I would ſteal the Moon one of theſe nights,
And having got her, lock her in a cheſt
As charily, as I would keep a glaſſe.
So. What wilt thou get by that?
Str. What, if the Moon
Ne'r riſe again, I'me bound to pay no uſe.
So. How ſo?
Str. 'Cauſe uſe you know is paid by th'Month.
So. 'Tis well, but I'le propound another buſineſſe;
Suppoſe that you were tyed upon a ſtatute
To pay five Talents, could you raſe figures?
Str. I know not, but I'le try.
So. You muſt not limit
Your thoughts ſo narrowly within your ſelfe,

* So *Socrates diſputes in Plato's Phædrus, that exteriour objects might not divert him; which Ariſtophanes here derides.*

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But like a beetle fetter'd in a thread,
Allow them play and flutter in the air.
Str. I ha't, I ha't, the rareſt way to cancell
A deed, as you'l confeſſe when you have heard it.
So. What iis't?
Str. Did you nere ſee at any Grocers
A clear tranſparant ſtone, with which they uſe
To kindle fire?
So. You mean a burning-glaſſe.
Stro. The very ſame.
So. What wouldſt thou do with it?
Str. Whilſt that the Scrivener writes the deed; d'ee mark,
Thus ſtanding by him with my burning-glaſſe
Againſt the Sun, I'l burn out every letter.
So. Wiſely by all the Graces.
Str. How I long
To cancell thus a bond of fifty pound.
So. 'Tis well, now tell me if thy adverſary
Sue thee, and thou art like to be orethrown
For want of witneſſes, how wilt thou 'void
His ſuit.
Str. Moſt eaſily.
So. Which way?
Str. Before
It comes to judgement, I would hang my ſelf.
So. Puſh, thou ſayſt nothing.
Str. Yes, by *Iove* there's none
Will proſecute a ſuit againſt the dead.
So. Away, thou fool'ſt; i'l teach no more.
Str. Why dear *Socrates*,
Why?
So. Thou forget'ſt as faſt as thou canſt learn.
Tell me the firſt thing thou wert taught to day.
Str. The firſt, ſtay let me ſee; the firſt thing ſay you?
How call you that we uſe to put our meal in?
Wretch, Iv'e forget it!
So. See, deſerv'ſt thou not
Forgetfull to be puniſh'd for a dunce.
Str. Alaſſe what ſhall I do? for if I learn not
The cheating language, I am quite undone:
Good Clouds adviſe me what courſe I ſhall take.
Cho. "If an ingenious ſon thou haſt at home,
"Thou hadſt beſt ſend him hither in thy room.
Str. I have a ſon, and he's ingenious too;
But will not learn, the more my miſery.
Cho. And wilt thou ſuffer't?
Str. Of a promiſing perſon

His

His mother is a woman of great ſpirit:
Once more Ile try; if he refuſe, i'l make
No more adoe but turn him out of dores;
Stay but a while, I will be quickly back.

Act. 3.

Strepſiades, Phidippides, Socrates.

Str NOw by the Clouds thou ſtaiſt no longer here?
Hence, and go feed in *Megacles* his ſtable.
Ph. Alaſſe what fury hath poſſeſt you Father?
By *Jove* I think you are beſides your ſelf.
Str. See, ſee, he ſwears by *Iove*, art thou not mad
At theſe years to believe there is a *Jove*?
Ph. Is truth to be derided?
Str. Well I ſee
Th' art ſtill a Child and credit'ſt old wives tales.
But come I will tell thee that ſhall make thee
A man, ſo you be ſure to tell it no body.
Ph. Pretty; what is't?
Str. Thou ſwor'ſt e'en now by *Jove*.
Ph. I did ſo.
Str. See how good it is to learn;
There's no ſuch thing as *Iove*.
Ph. What then?
Str. A whirlwind
Hath blown *Iove* quite away and rules all Heaven.
Ph: What fooleries are theſe?
Str. They're ſerious truth ſon.
Ph. Who tells you ſo?
Str. Our *Socrates* the * Melian,
And *Chærephon*, that trace the ſteps of fleas.
Ph. How, are you grown to ſuch a height of madneſs,
As to believe ſuch melancholy dreamers.
Str. Good words: defame not men of ſuch deep wiſdom
And ſubtle ſpirits; theſe live ſparingly,
Are never at the charges of of a Barber,
Unguents, or Baths, whereas thou waſts my means
As freely as if I were dead already.
Come then, and be their ſcholler in my room.
Ph. What can be learnt that's good of ſuch as they are?
Str. All things that are accompted wiſdom Boy;
And firſt to know thy ſelf, and what a dunce
Thou art, how blockiſh, ruſtick and forgetfull.
But ſtay a little, cover thy face a while. *Ph.*

* *As if he ſhould ſay, the Atheiſt: for the Melians were infamous for Atheiſm from Diagoras who profeſt it: Socrates was Scholar to Ariſtagoras a Melian. See chap. 3.*

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Ph. Alasse my fathers mad, what shall I do,
Accuse him to the Court of folly,
Bespeak a Coffin for him, for he talks
Idly, as he were drawing on?
Str. Come on now.
Let's see, what that?
Ph. A Pigeon.
Str. Good; and that?
Ph. A Pigeon.
Str. Both the same? ridiculous.
Take heed you make not such mistakes hereafter.
This you must call a Cock, and that a Hen.
Ph. A Hen? Is this the goodly learning Father
You got since your admission 'mongst these earth-wormes?
Str. This and a great deal more; but being old,
I soon forget what I am taught.
Ph. I think
'Twas want of memory made you lose your cloak.
Str. No, 'tis hung up upon the arts and sciences:
Ph. And where your shooes?
Str. Lost for the common good,
Like *Pericles:* But lets be gone and see
You learn t'obey me, and to wrong all else.
Remember that I bought thee, when thou wert
But six yeers old, a little Cart to play with.
Ph. Alasse you'l be the first that will repent this.
Str. Take you no care for that; do as I bid you.
Ho, *Socrates*, I've brought my son at last,
Though much against his will.
So. I, that's because
He's rude, untaught, a child of ignorance,
And unacquainted with our hungry baskets.
Ph. Go hang your self in one of them.
Str. How impudence; dost thou talk thus to thy Master?
Socr. So go hang, with what a seeming grace was that pronounc'd!
How do you think that he should ever learn
To overthrow a nimble adversary,
Or win a Judges heart with Rhetorick?
Str. Fear not, but teach him; he's ingenious
By Nature; for when he was but a little one,
Hee'd build you houses, and make leather Coaches,
And ships, and cut frogs out of apple parings.
What's your opinion then? do you not think
Hee's capable to learn both languages?
Or if not both, be sure he learn the worse.
Socr. Well, we shall try what may be done with him:
Str. Farewell, and so remember that in all
I say that's just, you learn to contradict me.

Act. 3.

Scœn. 1. *Strepſiades.*

Streps. THe * fift, the fourth, the third, the ſecond, hum.
The moſt abhord and dreadfull day is at hand,
The old and new; all I ow money to
Threaten to ſue and vow my utter ruine;
Yet I require nothing but what is juſt reaſon:
My friend forbear me till ſome other time;
But they all anſwer me, words are no payment,
Revile me, ſwear they'l put their bonds in ſuit,
And let 'em, what care I, ſo my *Phidippides*
Have learnt the art of cheating. I ſhall know ſtraight;
It is but knocking at the ſchool, ho ſon.

* *From the twentieth day of the month they reckon'd backward, ſee the life of Solons Chap.*

Scœn. 2. *Strepſiades, Socrates.*

Socr. SAve you *Strepſiades.*
Streps. The like to you.
* Firſt take this bag of meal, for it is fit
We pay our duty to our reverend Maſter,
Now tell me, has my ſon attain'd the art
For which I plac'd him with you.
Socr. Yes exactly.
Streps. Thanks to deceit, the Queen that governs all things.
Socr. Now you may overthrow all adverſaries.
Streps. What though a witneſſe ſwear that I have borrowed.
Socr. I though a thouſand ſwear't.
Streps. Iò. Iò.
Triumph my boyes, wo to you money-mongers,
You and your bonds, your uſe on uſe may hang now,
You'l trouble me no more! O what a ſon
Have I, that fenceth with a two-edg'd tongue,
My Houſes prop and Guardian, my foes terrour,
Quickly come forth, and meet my glad embraces,
Come forth and hear thy Father.
Socr. See the man.
Streps. O my dear boy!
Socr. Away and take him with you.

* *Such guifts Socrates ſometimes accepted, though not money. See Chap.*

Scene

Scœne 3.

Strepsiades, Phidippides.

Streps. O my son! O how I joy to see
Thy chang'd complexion! Thou look'st now me thinks
As if thou wert inspir'd with contradiction
I read, I crosse questions in thy very face,
Thy very eyes me thinks say, how, how's that?
Thou canst perswade the world that thou art wrong'd,
When thou art, he that does the wrong. I see't,
I plainly see't; a very * Attick mine;
Now let it be thy study to recover
Him, whom thou almost hast undone.
Phid. Why, what
Is that you fear?
Streps. The old and the new day.
Phid. Can one and the same day be old and new?
Streps. I know that: I'm sure my Creditors
By joint consent that day threaten to sue me.
Phil. They'l loose by it if they do: for 'tis impossible
To make two daies of one.
Streps. How is't impossible?
Phil. As for a woman to be old and young
At once.
Streps. But law has so determined it
Phil. But these men know not what the law doth mean.
Streps. Why what's the meaning of it.
* *Phil.* Antient *Solon*
Was naturally a lover of the people.
Streps. What's that to this?
Phid. He did appoint two daies,
The last day of the old month for citation,
The first oth' new for payment of the money.
Streps. But why the last day for citations?
Phil. That
The debtor having thus one day of warning
Might fly and shun the trouble of the next.
So. Why do the Magistrates then take all forfeits
Upon the old and new day?
Ph. They are hungry,
And tast their meat before they should fall too.
Str. We the fools that sit still and do nothing,
We that are wise and quick have done the businesses
Ye blocks, ye stones, ye sheep, ye empty bubbles;
Let me congratulate this son of mine

My

* δεῦρο νυν στρατηγός. Schol. M. S.

* See the life of Solon. Chap.

My ſelfe and my good fortune in a ſong.
" Now *Strepſiades* th'art bleſt
" Of the moſt diſcreet the beſt,
" What a Son thou haſt, now may
" All my æmulous neighbours ſay,
" When they hear that he alone
" Hath my creditours orethrown.
But come my boy, now thou ſhalt feaſt with me.

Sect. 4. *Paſias, Strepſiades, Witneſſe.*

Paſ. AND muſt a man be outed of his own thus?
Better take any courſe then ſuffer this.
You muſt aſſiſt me in this buſineſſe neighbour,
That I may call my debtor to accompt;
There's one friend made a foe; yet I'le not ſhame
My country, ere I do't, I'le give him warning.
Strepſiades.
Streps. How now, what would you have?
Paſ. The old and new daies come.
Streps. Bear witneſſe friend,
He nam'd two daies. What ſumme is't you demand.
Paſ. Twelve pounds you borrow'd when you bought your Son
A Race-horſe with the intereſt.
Streps. A race-horſe,
You know I neer car'd for 'em in my life.
Paſ. And ſwor'ſt by *Jove* and all the Gods to pay it.
Streps. By *Jove*? 'twas then before my ſon had learn't
The all-convincing ſpeech.
Paſ. You'l not deny't.
Streps. What have I got but that, for all this learning?
Paſ. Darſt thou deny't, if I ſhould put thee to
Thy oath, and make thee call the Gods to witneſs it?
Streps. What Gods de'e mean?
Paſ. *Jove*, *Mercury*, and *Neptune*.
Streps. By *Jove*? yes that I will I hold thee three pence.
Paſ. Curſe on thee for this impudence.
Streps. If thou wert rubb'd with ſalt, 'twould make thy wit the quicker.
Paſ. De' laugh at me?
Streps. Thou wilt take up ſix buſhells.
Paſ. So help me *Jupiter*, and all the Gods,
I will even be with you for this ſcorn.
Streps. I am extreamly taken with your Gods,
And this ſame *Iupiter*, you ſwear by, they
Are excellent paſtime to a knowing man.

Paſ.

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Paſ. Well, you will one day anſwer for theſe words.
But tell me, whether I ſhall have my money
Or not, give my anſwer, and I'me gone.
Streps. Stay but a little, I will anſwer preſently,
And plainly.
Paſ. Sure hee's gone to fetch the mony.
Streps. Where is the Man that comes to ask me mony?
Tell me, what's this?
Pas. That which it is, a *Cardopus*.
Strepſ. You ask for mony, and ſo very a dunce?
I'le never whilſt I live pay him a penny.
That calls a Cardopa a Cardopus.
Paſ. You will not pay then?
Streps. Not for ought I know:
You'l ſtay no longer, pray about your buſineſſe.
Paſ. Yes, I'le begone, but in the mean time know
I'le have my mony, if I live this day.
Streps. You may chance go without it; yet I'm ſorry
You ſhould be puniſh'd ſo for a miſtake,
For ſaying Cardopus for Cardopa.

Scœn. 8.

Amynias, Strepſiades, Witneſſe.

Amyn. OH, oh, alaſſe.
Streps. Who's that keeps ſuch a bawling?
What art thou? one of * *Carkinus* his ſons?
Amyn. 'Tis I unhappy!
Streps. Keep it to thy ſelfe.
Amyn. Unlucky chance, oh cruell deſtiny,
To ſpoil at once my Cart and all my Horſes!
* Oh *Pallas*, how unkindly haſt thou us'd me?
Streps. What hurt did ere *Tlepolemus* do thee?
Amyn. Deride me not, but rather bid your ſon
Pay me the mony which he had of me,
For I was never in more need of it.
Streps. What mony man?
Amyn. That which he borrowed of me.
Streps. Then I perceive you're in a ſad condition.
Am. I had a ſcurvy fall driving my horſes.
Strepſ. Thou doſt but jeſt, 'twas driving an Aſſe rather.
Amyn. I do not jeſt when I demand my mony.
Streps. Upon my word thou art not right.
Amyn. How ſo?
Streps. Thy brain me thinks is troubled.
Amyn. Either pay me

* *Which were Xenocles, Xenotimus, and Demotimus, Tragick Poets and Actors.*

* *This and the following line are taken from Xenocles the Tragedian, which is the reaſon of Strepſiades his anſwer.*

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My money ſtrait, or I will trouble you.
Streps. Tell me, doth *Jove* beget and ſend down rain,
Or doth the Sun exhale it from the ſea?
Amyn. I neither know nor care.
Streps. What? are you fit
To receive mony, and ſo ignorant
Of theſe ſublime and ſubtle myſteries?
Amyn. Well, if you cannot let me have the principal,
Pay me the intereſt.
Streps. Intereſt, what kind
Of creature's that?
Amyn. What, but th'encreaſe of mony
By months, and daies, as time runs on.
Streps. 'Tis well.
And do you think the ſea is fuller now
Then 'twas at firſt?
Amyn. No, not a drop, it is
Not fit it ſhould.
Streps. The ſea by your confeſſion
Is nothing grown; then with what conſcience
Can you deſire your mony ſhould encreaſe.
Go get you from my doores, fetch me a whip there.
Witn. Well, I'le bear witneſſe for him.
Streps. Why de'e not go, will you move * *Xanthias*?
Amyn. Is not this riotous?
Streps. Will you be gone?
Or ſhall I lead you in a chain, and make you
Shew tricks? if you but ſtay a little longer,
I'le ſend you, and your Cart and Horſes packing.
Chor. "Now obſerve what 'tis to bend
"Studies to an evill end
"This old man, that is intent
"Creditours to circumvent,
"Fooliſhly himſelfe hath croſt,
"And will find ſo to his coſt;
"That in this falſe Art his ſon
"Hath attain'd perfection:
"Juſtice cunning to refute)
"That at laſt hee'l wiſh him mute.

* *The Horſes name which he bought of him.*

A&

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Act. 5.

Scene 1.

Strepsiades, Phidippides.

Streps. O Neighbours, Kinsmen, Countrymen, help, help,
I'm beat all all over: oh my head, my back!
Thou strik'st thy Father Rogue.
Phid. I do so father.
Streps. See, see, he stands in't too.
Phid. I do indeed.
Streps. Thief, villain, Parricide.
Phid. More I beseech you,
I am much taken with these pretty Titles.
Streps. Rascall.
Phid. Pray stick me fuller of these roses.
Streps. Dost beat thy Father?
Phid. Yes, by *Jove*, and justly.
Streps. Oh' rogue what justice can there be in that.
Phid. I will demonstrate it by argument.
Streps. By argument?
Phid. Most easily, which language
Shall I dispute in.
Streps. Language?
Phid. Yes the greater
Or lesser?
Streps. I have bred thee well indeed
If thou canst make this good, that y anson
May beat his Father.
Phid. You'l confesse as much
If I so prove it, that you cannot answer't.
Streps. Well, I will hear for once what you can say.

Scene 2.

Chorus, Streps. Phidip.

Cho. "OLd man it much concerns you to confute
"Your son, whose confidence appears to suit
"With a just cause; how happen'd this dispute?
Str. I shall relate it from the first; as soon
As we had din'd, I took a lute and bid him
Sing the sheep-shearing of *Simonides*,
He told me 'twas an old and ugly fashion

To

To sing at dinner like a millers wife.
Phi. And was not this sufficient to deserve
A beating; when you'd make men chirp like * Grasse-hoppers?
* At noon. Virg. ecl. 2.
Str. Just so he said within; and added that
Simonides was an unpleasant Poet.
I must confesse I hardly could forbear him;
But then I bid him take a Myrtle branch,
And act some piece of *Æschylus*, that *Æschylus*
Saith he, is of all Poets the absurdest,
The harshest, most disorderly and bumbast.
Did not my heart pant at this language think you?
Yet I repress it; Then said I, rehearse
A learned speech out of some modern wit;
He strait repeats out of *Euripides*
A tedious long Oration, how the Brother
(Good Heavens) did violate his sisters bed.
Here I confesse I could contain no longer
But chid him sharply; to dispute we went,
Words upon words, till he at last to blowes,
To strike, to pull, to tear me.
Phi. And not justly?
You that would discommend *Euripides*,
The wisest of all Poets.
Str. Wisest? ah
What did I say, I shall be beat agen.
Ph. By *Iove*, and you deserve't.
Str. How, deserve it?
Ungratefull wretch, have I not brought thee up,
Fed and maintain'd thee from a little one,
Supplied thy wants? how then can I deserve it?
Chor. "Now I believe each youthfull breast
"With expectation possest,
"That if the glory of the day
"Be from the Plantiffe born away,
"By this example they may all
"Upon the old men heavy fall;
"What you have done with utmost art,
"To justifie is now your part.
Phid. How sweet it is to study, sage new things;
And to contemn all fundamental lawes!
When I applied my mind to Horse-courting
I could not speak three words but I was out;
Now since I gave it ore, I am acquainted
With ponderous sentences and subtle reasons,
Able to prove I ought to beat my Father.
Str. Nay, follow racing still, for I had rather
Maintain thy horses then be beaten thus.

Phid.

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Phid. I will begin where you did interrupt me,
And first will ask, did you not beat me when
I was a child?
Streps. But that was out of love.
Phid. 'Tis very right, tell me then, ought not I
To recompence your love with equall love;
If to be beaten be to be belov'd,
Why should I suffer stripes, and you have none?
I am by nature born as free as you;
Nor is it fit the sons should be chastiz'd,
And not their parents.
Str. Why?
Phid. You urge the Law,
That doth allow all children to be beaten:
To which I answer, Old men are twice children,
And therefore ought, when they offend, be punish'd
As well as we.
Str But there's no Law that saies
The Parents should be punished.
Phid. Was not he
Who made that Law, a man as you and I,
He form'd a Law, which all the old men follow'd;
Why may not I as well prescribe another,
And all the young men follow my advice:
But all the blowes before this Law was made
Must be forgiven without all dispute.
Besides, mark how the Cocks and other creatures
Fight with their sires, who differ not at all
From us, save only that they make no lawes.
Streps. Why then if you will imitate the Cocks,
Do you not dine upon a Dunghill, and
Lodge in a hen-roost?
Phid. 'Tis not all one case,
Our *Socrates* doth not approve so far.
Streps. Approve not then their fighting, but in this
Thou plead'st against thy selfe.
Phid. How so?
Streps. Because
Th'authority I exercise o're thee
Will be thine own, when ere thou hast a son.
Phid. But if I ne'r have any, then I never
Shall have authority, and you will go
To th'grave deriding me.
Streps. 'Tis too much reason.
Phid. Hear now another argument.
Streps. I'me lost.
Phid. And then perhaps you'l take the blowes I gave you

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Not halfe ſo ill.
Streps. What good ſhall I get by them?
Phid. I'le beat my mother too.
Streps. What ſayeſt thou, thou?
Why this is worſe then t'other.
Phid. What if I
Prove by the ſecond language that I ought?
Streps. Why then you will have nothing more to do.
But prove that you, and your wife *Socrates*,
And wiſer language may hang all together.
O Clouds, all this I ſuffer through your means,
For I in you wholly repos'd my truſt.
Chor. "Thy ſelfe art author of this miſery,
"Becauſe to ill thou didſt thy mind apply.
Streps. Why did you then give me no warning of it?
You know I was a rude and aged man.
Chor. "This is our cuſtome, whenſoere we find
"Any to malice or deceit enclin'd,
"Into ſome dreadfull miſchief ſuch we thruſt,
"That they may fear the Gods, and learn what's juſt.
Streps. Alaſſe, this is a miſchief, and a juſt one,
For I ought not, when I had borrow'd mony,
To ſeek out wayes t'avoid reſtoring it.
Come then my ſon, let us be reveng'd
Upon that wicked *Socrates* and *Cherephon*,
Who have abus'd us both.
Phid. I will not wrong
My Maſters.
Streps. Reverence Celeſtiall *Jove*.
Phid. Geleſtiall *Jove*, ſee how you rave now father!
There's no ſuch thing as *Jove*.
Streps. There is.
* *Act.* 3. *Phid.* * A whirle-wind
Hath blown *Jove* quite away, and rules all.
Streps. No ſon, he's not expell'd, I was but fool'd
To worſhip in his room a fictile deity.
Phid. Nay if you will needs be mad, be mad alone.

Scœn. 3.

Strepſiades.

Streps. MAd that I was to truſt in *Socrates*,
And caſt off all our Gods, good *Mercury*
Be not diſpleas'd, or puniſh, but forgive me,
That took ſuch paines, and ſtudied to talk idly;
And tell me what I'de beſt do with theſe fellowes,

Sue

Sue them or puniſh 'em ſome other way——
Th'art in the right, I will not ſue them then,
But as thou bidſt me ſet their Neſt on fire;
Come *Xanthias*, come, a fork and ladder quickly.
Get up and pluck the houſe about their Ears,
Quick if thou loveſt thy maſter; one of you
Go light a torch, and bring it hither ſtrait:
Proud as they are I mean to bring 'em lower.

Scœn 4.

Scholar, Strepſiades, Socrates, Chærephon.

Schol. OH. oh!
Strep. Torch to thy work, ſet fire apace.
Schol. What art thou doing man?
Streps. That which I'm doing;
Diſputing ſomewhat hotly with your ſchool here.
Schol. Alaſſe, who's this that ſets our houſe on fire?
Streps. He whom you coſen'd of his cloak.
Schol. Thou kill'ſt,
Thou kil'lſt us man.
Streps. That is the thing I mean,
If my fork hold and ladder, do not fail me.
So. How now, what do you make on our houſe-ridge.
Streps. * I walk i'th air and gaze upon the Sun. * Act. 2. ſcen. 3.
So. Alaſſe I'm choak'd.
Streps. Why doſt thou ſcorn the Gods then?
Chær. Oh me I burn;
Streps. Now you may calculate
The motions of the Moon: tear, pluck, beat, burn 'em.
For many reaſons they deſerve the flame,
But moſt becauſe they did the Gods diſclaim.

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XENOPHON.

CHAP. I.

Xenophon, his Country Parents, and following of Socrates.

Xenophon was an Athenian, ſon of *Cryllus*, of the Erchiean Tribe: The time of his birth is no where expreſſely delivered: * *Steſiclides* affirms *he died the firſt year of the* 105. *Olympiad.* * *Lucian that he outlived* 90. *years:* whence it is evident that hee was born at or before the firſt year of the 82. Olympiad, which if the learned *Cauſabone* had obſerved, he had not * alter'd *Athenæus* upon ſuppoſition, that he was but ten years old, the fourth year of the 89. Olympiad (the time of his *Sympoſium*) whereas he was then no leſſe then 36. years of age. *Laertius* ſaith, *he flouriſhed the fourth year of the* 94. *Olympiad.* (*Suidas* reads, *of the* 98.) Or, according to others, that *he flouriſhed in the* 89. *Olympiad with the reſt of the Socratick Philoſophers*; of whom he became one upon this accident. *Laert.* * *Laert.* * *de Longæv.* * *Animadv.* 9. 12.

* Meeting *Socrates* in a narrow lane, hee ſtopt him with his ſtaffe, and asked him where all kind of meats were to be ſold; to which *Socrates* made a ſerious anſwer: and then demanded of him, where it was that men were made good and virtuous! whereat *Xenophon* pauſing, *follow me then*, ſaith he, *and learn*; from thence forward he became a Diſciple of *Socrates*. * *Laert.*

In the time of that great war betwixt the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, called *the Peloponneſian war* (the naturall forwardneſſe of his ſpirit being perhaps excited by the example of his Maſter *Socrates*) hee was perſonally engaged in the fight before *Delium*, the firſt year of the 89. Olympiad, wherein the Boeotians overcame the Athenians; in which defeat * *Xenophon* in the flight unhorſed and thrown down, *Socrates* (who his horſe being likewiſe ſlain under him, fought on foot) took him upon his ſhoulders and and carried him many furlongs, untill the Enemy gave over the purſuit. This was the firſt eſſay of his military profeſſion, which he afterward reſum'd upon this occaſion. * *Strab. 9.* *Laert.*

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CHAP. 2.

Upon what occaſion he followed Cyrus *into Aſia.*

* *Xenoph. expedit. Cyr. lib. 1.*

* ARtaxerxes ſucceeded *Darius* his Father in the Kingdom of *Perſia*, *Cyrus* his younger brother having been ſent for out of his Government of *Lydia* upon his fathers ſickneſſe, which is that firſt δύσβασις placed by the Arundelian ſtone in the ſecond year of the 93. Olympiad, confounded by * a learned perſon with the latter, ſix years after) was impriſon'd by his brother upon the accuſation of *Tiſſaphernes*, but releaſed by the mediation of his Mother *Paryſatis*. Being returned to his Government, he uſed all ſecret means to ſtrengthen himſelfe. The Ionian Cities were delivered to *Tiſſaphernes* by *Artaxerxes*, but revolted to him, all except *Miletus*. His pretences for levying forces were, the Garriſoning of thoſe Cities, and his oppoſing *Tiſſaphernes*: *Clearchus* likewiſe raiſed for him many in *Cherſoneſus*, upon pretence of warring againſt the Thracians. He privately alſo kept an Army on foot in *Theſſaly* under *Ariſtippus*: and *Proxenus* of *Boeotia* brought him forces as againſt the Piſidians; this *Proxenus* (who had been ſcholar to *Gorgias* the Leontine, and * gueſt to *Xenophon*) ſent to invite him to *Cyrus*, aſſuring him he ſhould be of more eſteem with him then of his own Country: *Xenophon* conſulted with *Socrates* about this letter, who doubting that if he took part with *Cyrus*, the Athenians would be diſpleas'd with him (*Cyrus* having before aided the Lacedemonians againſt them) counſell'd him to ask the advice of the *Delphian* Oracle. *Xenophon* went thither, and demanded of *Apollo* to which of the Gods he ſhould addreſs his vowes and ſacrifice for the good ſucceſſe of his intended journey. Hee was anſwer'd, that he ſhould ſacrifice to thoſe Gods to whom it was due: Returning to *Athens*, he imparted this Oracle to *Socrates*, who blam'd him, becauſe he had not demanded whether it was beſt to ſtay or no, but (as already determined to goe) how he might beſt perform his journey. Nevertheleſſe (ſaith he) ſince you have ſo propoſed your demand, you muſt do as the Gods command: *Xenophon* having ſacrificed according to the Oracles direction, took ſhipping, and at *Sardis* found *Proxenus* and *Cyrus* ready for their expedition into *Aſia*, and was immediately recommended to *Cyrus*, being by both earneſtly intreated to ſtay: hee continued with him * not in any command, but as a volunteer. * In which condition he did not any thing misbeſeeming a ſouldier, whereupon he was in the number of thoſe whom *Cyrus* eſteem'd moſt.

* *Ad Grac. Epoch. can. Chron. pag. 113.*

* *Xen. lib. 3.*

* *Xen. lib. 3.*

* *Chio. Epiſt. ad Metrid.*

* *Xenoph. lib. 1.* * *Cyrus* having drawn all his forces together, marched up and

gave

gave battle to *Artaxerxes* (in the beginning of the fourth year of the nintie fourth Olympiad, when *Xenenetus* was Archon) at *Cunaxa*, five hundred Stadia from *Babylon*, by the River *Euphrates*. Whilst he was viewing both Armies, he told *Xenophon*, who rode up to him, that the sacrifices were auspicious; then *Xenophon* gave him the Grecians word, *Jupiter the preserver*. The Greeks prevailed against *Tissaphernes*; but *Cyrus* assaulting, the King, was through his too much forwardnesse slain; the Grecians thinking themselves Masters of the field; and *Cyrus* to be alive, returned to their Camp, which they found rifled by the enemy. * The next day the King sending *Phalinus* to them, to deliver their armes, *Xenophon* answered, "That they "had nothing left but their armes and valour; as long "as they kept their armes, they might use their valour, sur-"rendring them, they were not Masters of themselves. It were "indiscretion (saith he) to surrender what we have left, "since thereby perhaps we may make our selves Masters of "what you have. *Phalinus* smiling, replyed; "Young man, you "look and speak like a Philosopher; but assure your selfe, your "valour will not over-master the Kings power. *Clearchus* returned this answer for the whole Army, "If we be esteemed "friends, it will be better for him that we are armed; if ene-"mies, better for our selves. *Tissaphernes* having made a Truce with *Clearchus*, perfidiously got him with foure other Com-manders, *Proxenus*, *Menon*, (* with whom *Xenophon* had particular enmity) *Agias*, and *Socrates*, twenty Captains of Cohorts, and two hundred common souldiers into his power; and de-livering them up to the King, they were beheaded. The Greeks being summoned to lay down their armes, pretending that *Clearchus* was executed for treason discovered by *Menon* and *Proxenus*, who were very highly rewarded. *Xenophon* required to have them sent, who were fittest to direct them, being friends to both; whereto the Persians not able to answer, de-parted.

* *Laert.*

* *Xenoph. lib. 2.*

* *Laert.*

CHAP. III.

How he brought off the Grecian Army.

* THe Greeks finding themselves in such a strait, were in despair ever to see their Country again. *Xenophon* cal-ling together the Officers of *Proxenus*, told them, "They were "not to expect any mercy from the King, who had shewen "none to the body of his dead brother, having fastned his "head and hand to a Gibbet, and that they must resolve to "put their safetie in their armes. *Apollonides* a Bœotian al-ledg'd, that there was no means of safety but in the Kings fa-vour

* *Xenoph. lib. 3.*

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vour, and began to reckon the dangers wherewith they were surrounded. *Xenophon* answered, "That when upon the death "of *Cyrus*, they marched up to the Kings armies, he laboured "for a cessation, but when their Captains went to him unarm-"ed, he abused them; and that *Apollonides* deserved to be ca-"shierd, as the dishonour of his Nation. *Agasthias* replyed, (which words *Laertius* ascribes to *Xenophon*) "he was an incon-"siderable fellow, whose ears were boared as the slaves of *Ly-"dia*: So they turned him out. Having called together all the Commanders, *Xenophon* advised them to chuse new in the room of those that were lost, of whom he was elected in the place of *Proxenus*: Hereupon he put on his richest habit, as fittest either for death or victory, for *his greatest delight was in fair polished armes, affirming, that if he overcame, he deserved such, if he were overcome and died in the field, they would decently expresse his quality, and were the fittest sepulchrall ornaments of a valiant man. His shield was of *Argos*, his breast-plate of *Attica*, his helmet of *Bœotia*, his horse of *Epidaurium*; whereby *Ælian* argued the elegance of the person, in chooſing such things as were fair, and esteeming him worthy of such. Thus adorned, he made an oration to the Army, advising them (from the examples of their late commanders) not to trust the enemy, but in order to their return, to burn their Cariages, and Tents: this advice was put in execution; *Cherisophus* a Lacedæmonian had charge of the Van, *Xenophon* of the Reer, chosen (saith) *Chio* as well for his courage as wisdome, being in both excellent: betwixt these two there grew so great a friendship, that in all the time of the retreat they never had but one difference; their march was directed towards the heads of those great rivers which lay in their way, that they might passe them where they were fordable; having croſt the River *Zathe*, *Mithridates* came up to them, and galled the Reer with shot, which the Greeks not able to requite, *Xenophon* provided two hundred slings, and finding fifty horses fit for service, imployed among the Carriages, mounted men upon them, whereby having frustrated the second attempt of *Mithridates*, they marched to *Lariſſa*, seated upon *Tigris*, thence to *Mespila*; in their march from thence, *Tissaphernes* overtook them with a great Army, but was twice worsted; whereupon (as the secureſt course) he seized on a Mountain, under which they must of necessity passe; *Xenophon* with a party gained by another way the top of that Mountain, not without much difficulty of passage and trouble; and to animate his souldiers, one of them, named *Soteridas*, murmured that he was on horse-back, whereas himselfe marched on foot, oppresst with the weight of his shield; which *Xenophon* hearing, alighted, took his shield from him, and thrusting him out of his rank, marched (notwith-

* *Ælian. var. hist. 3. 24.*

standing

standing he had also a horse-man Cuiraſſe) in his room: But the ſouldiers beat and reviled *Soteridas*, till they conſtrained him to take again his ſhield and place. When they had gained the top, the enemy, being prevented, fled, and ſet fire on the villages. * The Grecians (intercepted by the River *Tigris*) marched over the mountains into the Country of the *Carduchi*, a people enemy to the Perſians, rough and warlike, from whom they found ſuch oppoſition, that in ſeven daies march through their country, they were put to continuall fights, and ſuffered more diſtreſſes then the Perſian had put them to. Fording the River *Centrites*, which bounds that country, they paſſed into *Armenia*, where having put to flight ſome troops of horſe raiſed by the Kings deputies in theſe parts to oppoſe their paſſage, they marched without diſturbance to the heads of *Tigris*, which they paſſed; thence to the River of *Teleboa* in weſt *Armenia*, moleſted with extream ſnowes, loſing many by extremity of cold, till they came to the River *Phaſis*, neer which lived the *Phaſiani*, *Tacchi*, and the *Chalybes*; the *Tacchi*, into whoſe country they firſt came, conveying their proviſion into ſtrong holds, reduced the Greeks to great want, untill with much paines they forced one of them, where they took as much Cattle as maintained them in their paſſage through the country of the *Chalybes*, a ſtout Nation, of whom they could get nothing but blowes: thence they marched to the River *Harpaſus*, ſo to the *Scythini*, where the Lord of *Gymnias*, a town in thoſe parts, led them through the enemies country (which he willed them to burn as they went) to the Mountain *Theches*, from whence they might behold the ſea, to the great joy of the ſouldiers. Paſſing friendly through the country of the *Macrones*, to the Colchian Mountains, diſcomfiting the *Colchi*, who oppoſed them, they arived at *Trapezond*, a City upon the Euxine ſea, where was a Greek Colony; here they ſacrificed and celebrated games: * *Cheriſophus* they ſent to *Anaxibius*, the Lacedæmonian Admirall, (with whom he was intimate) to procure ſhips for their tranſportation home. Whileſt they ſtayed in expectation of his return, they maintained themſelves by incurſions upon the *Colchi* and *Drylani*; but he not coming, and their proviſion failing, *Xenophon* perſwaded the Citties adjoyning to cleer them a paſſage by Land, which they took to *Ceraſus* a Greek City, where muſtering their men, they found but eight thouſand ſix hundred left of ten thouſand that went up with *Cyrus*; the reſt conſumed by enemies, ſnow, and ſickneſſe: They ſhared the mony that had been made by the ſale of Captives, reſerving a tenth for an offering to *Apollo* and *Diana*: *Xenophon* reſerved his to be diſpoſed at *Delphi* and *Epheſus*. From *Ceraſus* they paſſed through the Country of the *Moſynœci*, a barbarous people, divided into factions; the ſtronger part deſpiſing their

* *Xenoph. lib. 4.*

* *Xenoph. lib. 5.*

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friendſhip, they joyned with the weaker, whom they left Maſters of all: Then they marched to the *Chalybes*, thence to the *Tibarenes*, paſſing quietly through their Country to *Cotyora*, a Greek Town and Colony of the *Sinopians*. Thus far the Army marched on foot; the diſtance of the place where they fought with *Artaxerxes* to *Cotyora*, being one hundred twenty two encampings, ſix hundred twenty paraſangs, ten thouſand eight hundred twenty furlongs, the time eight Months.

Thoſe of *Cotyora* refuſing to afford them a Market or entertainment for their ſick, they entered the Town by force, and took proviſion, partly out of *Paphlagonia*, partly out of the Territory of the *Cotyonites*; whereupon the City of *Sinope* to which *Cotyora* was tributary, ſent Ambaſſadours to them, complaining of this dealing, and threatning to joyne with *Corylas* and the Paphlagonians; whereto *Xenophon* anſwered, "that they fear-"ed not, if need were, to war againſt them both, but could, if "they pleaſed, gain the friendſhip of *Corylas* and the Paphla-"gonians as well as they. Upon which anſwer, the Ambaſſadours growing calm, promiſed them all friendſhip from the State of *Sinope*, and to aſſiſt them with ſhipping for the whole Army, it being impoſſible to go by Land, by reaſon of the Rivers *Thermodon*, *Halys*, *Iris* and *Partbenius*.

Xenophon had deſigned to plant a Colony there, but his intention being divulg'd by *Silanus*, a Sooth-ſayer, thoſe of *Sinope*, and *Heraclea* ſent to the Grecians, promiſing them not only a ſufficient fleet, but deſiring under hand *Timaſion* a Greek Commander to promiſe the Army a good ſumme of mony to convey them to *Trapezus*; which offers *Xenophon* (who only deſired the common good) perſwaded them to accept, and to engage mutually, not to forſake one another till they were all in ſafetie: Thoſe of *Heraclea* ſent ſhipping, but not the mony; whereupon *Timaſion* and other commanders fearing the ſouldiers, deſired *Zenophon* the Army might go to *Phaſis*, which he refuſed, but thereby was occaſion'd a ſuſpition that he ſhould plot to deceive the Army, and to bring them back to *Phaſis*, whereof he acquitted himſelfe. Here a generall inquiſition was made of all offences ſince the death of *Cyrus*, and they were puniſhed; ſome accuſed *Xenophon* for beating them, all which proved for juſt cauſes, one for offering to bury his ſick companion alive; ſome for forſaking their ranks; others for lying on the ground in the ſnow, or lingring behind. Thus were all things quietly ſetled.

CHAP.

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CAAP. IV.

End of the Retreat.

THe Greeks, assoon as their fleet was ready, set sail for *Harmond*, the Port of *Sinope*, when *Chirisophus* met them with some Galleyes from *Anaxibius*, who promised them pay as soon as they should come into *Greece*. The Army desirous of a Generall, intreated *Xenophon* (with extraordinary testimony of affection) to accept that command: *Xenophon* refused, either disswaded by inauspicious sacrifice, or unwilling to displease the Lacedæmonians, in putting by *Chirisophus*, who was thereupon chosen, but soon after deposed, for refusing to extort a great summe from *Heraclea*, a Greek City, their friends: *Xenophon* also denying to be employed therein, the Army thereupon became divided; they chose ten Captains out of themselves, with *Chirisophus* remained two thousand one hundred, with *Xenophon* two thousand foot and forty horse; *Chirisophus* went by land to meet *Cleander* Governour of *Bizantium*, at the mouth of the River *Calphas*, leaving such shipping as he had to *Xenophon*, who landing in the confines of *Thrace*, and of the Heraclean Country, marched quietly through the midst of the land: the Mutineers landing at *Calphas*, surprised and spoyled the country thereabout; the Thracians rising up against them, cut off two Regiments, and besieged the hill where the rest encamped. *Xenophon* on the way being informed of the desperate condition of these Greeks, went directly to the place, setting on fire as he went all that was combustible; the enemy fearing to be set upon in the night, stole away, as did the Greeks also, whom *Xenophon* overtaking in the way to the Port of *Calphas*, they embraced him with great joy, and ariving at the Haven, made a decree, that it should be death for any man to propound to divide the Army, and that they should depart the Country in their first order. The former Commanders being restored in the room of *Chirisophus* who died, they substituted *Neon*, who going forth with two thousand men to pillage the Country, was discomfitted by *Pharnabazus* Lievtenant to the King of *Persia*, and lost five hundred men; the rest rescued by *Xenophon*, the Army by his encouragement marched through a large Forrest defeating *Pharnabazus*, who opposed their passage there. *Cleander* came over to them, and having expressed much kindnesse to *Xenophon*, and contracted hospitality with him, departed. The Army marched through *Bythinia* to *Chrysopolis* in the territories of *Chalcedon*. * Thence *Anaxibius* the Lacedemonian Admirall transported them to *Byzantium*, where hee had promised they should

Xenoph. lib. 6.

Xenoph. lib. 7.

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ſhould as ſoon as they arrived receive pay, without which hee ſent them out of the City, whereat the ſouldiers incenſed, returned and entred the City by force, intending to ſpoil it: but *Xenophon* thruſting himſelf amongſt the croud, diſſwaded them, and appeaſed the tumult, as is particularly atteſted by * *Chio* an eye-witneſſe. By this means they were brought to depart the City quietly, which as ſoon as they had done, *Xenophon* deſirous to go home, took leave of the Army, and returned to *Byzantium* with *Cleander*. *Anaxibius* being put out of the Admiralſhip, and thereupon ſlighted by *Pharnabazus* (at whoſe inſtigation he had treated the Greeks ſo hardly) deſired *Xenophon* to return to the Army to lead them to *Perinthus*, whence they ſhould be tranſported into *Aſia*; The Army received him with much joy: when they came to *Perinthus*, *Ariſtarchus* the Governour would not ſuffer them to be tranſported: *Seuthes* King of *Thrace* had invited them to aid him againſt *Medocus*, uſurper of his Kingdom, with large offers of money to every ſouldier, of his daughter to *Xenophon*: to him therefore not knowing where to winter they went. At ſupper every one (according to the cuſtom) drunk to the King, and made him a preſent: *Xenophon*, who ſate next him, riſing up and taking the cup, told him, "he gave him himſelf & all his Companions to be his faithful "friends, and ready ſervants in the recovery of his Kingdom: "Herin their aſſiſtance did much advantage *Seuthes*: the Army wanting pay, *Xenophon* reproved *Heraclides* for not taking order about it; who therupon endeavoured to work him out of favour with *Seuthes*, to whom he brought the reſt of the Commanders, counſelling them to ſay, that if need were, they could lead the Army upon ſervice as well as *Xenophon*; but they jointly proteſted unto *Seuthes*, they would not ſerve at all without him: So he ſent for *Xenophon* alſo, and being agreed to proceed, they march'd towards the Country of the *Melinopagi* as far as *Salmydeſſon*: which places having reduced, they returned to the plaines of *Selybria*: thither came *Chaminus* a Lacedemonian, *Polinitus* ſent from *Thymbro*, who told them that the Lacedemonians had deſigned war againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, the charge thereof was committed to *Thymbro*, who deſir'd this Army of Greeks to aſſiſt them, promiſing them good pay. *Seuthes* willingly yielded the Army into their hands; they ſent *Xenophon* to demand their areares, which not without much importunity hee obtained. Thence they ſailed to *Lampſacus*, where *Euclides* a ſoothſayer of *Xenophons* acquaintance asked him, how much Gold he had brought? *Xenophon* proteſted hee had not had enough to carry him home, but that he ſold his horſe and other things which he had about him. The next day they marched to *Ophrynium*, whither came *Bito* and *Euclides* to pay the Army; they being *Xenophons* friends, reſtored (refuſing the price of redemption)

* *In Epiſtola ad Metridem.*

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on) his horse which he much loved, and had pawned at *Lampsacus*. Then marching forward by *Atramyttium*, and *Kertonium*, not far from *Atarna* to the plain of *Caicus*, they reached *Pergamus* a Citty of *Lydia*. Here *Hellas* wife of *Gongylus* an *Eretrian*, mother of *Gorgion*, and *Gongylus* entertained *Xenophon*: By her information *Xenophon* surprised *Asidates* a rich Persian, with his wife and chidren, and all his goods: Returning to *Pergamus*, the Lacedæmonians, Captains and Souldiers, by agreement gave him also an extraordinary share of horses, oxen, and other things; then came *Thymbro*, and taking the Army, joyn'd it to the rest of the Grecian forces, wherewith he made war against *Tissaphernes*.

Of the Kings Provinces, through which they passed, the Governours were these; *Artimas* of *Lydia*, *Artacamas* of *Phrygia*, *Mithridates* of *Lacaonia*, and *Cappodocia*; of *Cilicia*, * *Syennesis*: of *Phœnicia* and *Arabia*, *Dernes*; of *Syria* and *Assyria*, *Belesis*: of *Babylonia*, *Roparas*: of *Media*, *Arbacas*, of the *Phasiani* and *Hesperitæ*, *Teribazus*, the *Carduchi*, *Chalybes*, *Chaldæans*, *Macrones*, *Colchi*, *Mosynæchi*, *Coeti*, and *Tibareni* are free Nations; *Paphlagonia* governed by *Corylas*; the Bithynians by *Pharnabazus*, the Europæan Thracians by *Senthes*; The totall number of the Ascent and Descent is two hundred & fifteen encampings, one thousand one hundred & fifty parasangs, thirty four thousand two hundred fifty five furlongs; the time of the Ascent and Descent one year and three months.

* Which perhaps was a common name to the Kings of that Country, as Ptolomy to those of Ægypt. see Thales chap.

CHAP. V.

His following of Agesilaus, *and banishment.*

* After this expedition the defeat in Pontus, and breach of promise of Senthes King of the Odrysians; Xenophon went into Asia with Agesilaus King of the Lacedæmonians, to whom he delivered for a sum of money the souldiers of Cyrus, and beloved infinitely, as [illegible]; Æmilius Probus saith, he conversed intimately with him: Cicero, that he instructed him. Plutarch affirms, that by his advice Agesilaus sent his sonns to be educated at Sparta, to learn and art them, which none was more excellent, how to obey and command. *Agesilaus* passed into *Asia* the first year of the 96. Olympiad; He warred successefully with the Persian, but the year following was called home by the Lacedæmonians to help his Country invaded by the Thebans, and their allies, whom the Persian had corrupted, thereby to withdraw the war out of his Country. *Xenophon* in his returning with *Agesilaus* out of *Asia* into *Boeotia*, apprehending the danger of the war they were entring into, when he came to *Ephesus* left one half of the gold * which he had reserved for an offring out of his share (of the money which the

* Laert.

* Supr. chap. 3.

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Army divided at *Ceraſunt* in their return from the expedition of *Cyrus*) with *Megabyzus Diana's* Prieſt, willing that if hee eſcaped the danger of that war, it ſhould be reſtored to him, if he miſcarried, conſecrated to *Diana*, and either made into an Image dedicated to the goddeſſe, or diſpoſed ſome way that he ſhould conceive moſt acceptable to her; the other half hee ſent an offring to the Athenian treaſury at *Delphi*, * inſcribing thereon both his own name, and that of *Proxenus*, his predeceſſor in the command of that Regiment. *Ageſilaus* returning, waſted *Boeotia*, and overcame the Thebans and their allies in a great battell at *Coronea* * particularly deſcribed by *Xenophon*, who was there preſent.

* *Xenoph. lib. 5.*

* *Ageſil.*

During the abſence of *Xenophon* out of his own Country, the Athenians (becauſe he took part againſt the King of *Perſia* their friend, & followed *Cyrus*, who had aſſiſted the Lacedemonians againſt them,* ſupplying *Lyſander* their General with mony for a Navy) proclaimed a decree of baniſhment againſt him: * *Iſter* ſaith, he was baniſhed by the decree of *Eubulus*, and called home by the ſame; *Laertius*, that he was baniſh'd for *Laconism*, upon his going to *Ageſilaus*; Some place this decree in the third year of the 96. Olimpiad, but the writer of the Hiſtory of *Cyrus* his expedition inplyeth, that it was before his firſt return out of *Aſia*, affirming that before the delivery of the Army to *Thymbro*, *Xenophon* ignorant of this decree, intended to have gone home.

* *Pauſan.*
* *Laert.*

CHAP. VI.

How he lived at Scilluns, *and at* Corinth.

Laert. Pauſan. Eliac.

THe Lacedemonians to requite him for ſuffring in their cauſe, maintained him at the publique charge, and purchaſing *Scilluns* of the Eleans, built a Town there, and beſtowed a fair houſe and land upon *Xenophon*, whereupon hee left *Ageſilaus* and went thither, carrying with him his wife named *Philesia*, and his two ſons which he had by * her, *Diodorus* and *Gryllus*, called the Dioſcuri. * Thither *Pelopidas* a Spartan, ſent him Captives for ſlaves from *Dardanus* for a preſent, to diſpoſe of them as ſhould pleaſe him.

* *Suid.*

* *Laert.*

Xenoph. de exped. Cyr. 5. Laert.

Scilluns was near *Olympia*, eminent for celebration of the Games, which *Megabyzus* coming to ſee, reſtored to *Xenophon* the money which he had left in his cuſtody, wherewith * by advice of the Oracle he purchaſed a portion of land, and conſecrated it to *Diana* in a place deſigned by *Apollo*, through which ran the River *Selinus*, of the ſame name with that at *Epheſus*, running by *Diana's* Temple; the River was ſtored as well with ſhell-fiſh as others, the land with all kind of beaſts for game; he

* *Strab. 8.*

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he built also a Temple, and after with the consecrated money offering the tithes of the fruits of the land to *Diana*, all the Citizens and Neighbours, men and women, were invited to the feast, where they had from the Goddesses allowance, bread, wine, and part of the flesh of such beasts as was either taken out of the consecrated ground, and sacrificed, or killed in hunting with the Sons of *Xenophon* and other Citizens, exercised against the time of the feast out of the sacred ground; and out of *Phalee* were taken wild Boars, Goats, and Staggs; the place lies in the way betwixt *Lacedæmonia* and *Olympia*, twenty Stadia from the Temple of Olympian *Jupiter*. In the sacred ground were woods and hills, stored with trees sufficient to maintain swine, Goats and sheep, whereby the beasts of carriage of such Merchants as come to the feast are maintained plentifully: about the Temple a Grove of fruit-trees of all sorts. The Temple was an imitation in little of that at *Ephesus*: an image of Cypresse here resembling that of Gold there: A Pillar near the Temble bare this inscription, *GROUND SACRED* DIANA. *HE WHO POSSESSETH IT LET HIM PAY THE TITHE OF HIS YEARLY ENCREASE, AND WITH THE SURPLUSAGE MAINTAIN THE TEMPLE, IF HE NEGLECT, THE GODDESSE WILL TAKE ORDER FOR IT.* * At this place, of retirement *Xenophon* employed his time in hunting, and writing Histories, inviting his friends thither, * of whom amongst others came *Phædo* and *Aristippus*, much delighted with the situation, building, and trees planted by the hand of the owner. * *Laert.* * *Epist. Socratic.* 18.

* At length a war arising betwixt the Eleans and Lacedæmonians, the Eleans invaded *Scillans* with a great Army, and before the Lacedemonians came to their relieve, seized on the house & lands of *Xenophon*; His sons with some few servants got away privately to *Lepreum*; *Xenophon* first to *Elis*, then to *Lepreum* to his Sons, and lastly with them to *Corinth*, where he took a house and continued the rest of his life. During this time the Argives, Arcadians, and Thebans, jointly opposed the Lacedemonians, and had almost oppresst them, when the Athenians made a publique decree (* mentioned by a *Xenophon*) to succour them; *Xenophon* sent his Sonns upon the expedition to *Athens*, to fight for the Lacedemonians; for (as *Diocles* affirms) they had been educated at *Sparta* in the discipline of that place. * *Laert.* * *Græc. Hist. ultim.*

This enmity ended in a great battle at *Mantinea* in the second year of the hundreth and fourth Olympiad: *Diodorus* without acting any thing memorable, gave off safe, and had afterwards a son of his brothers name. *Gryllus* was ranked opposite to the Theban horse-men: the Thebans having by the valour of their Generall *Epaminondas* got the better of the day, a resolute company of Spartan horse-men broke in upon him,

of

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of whom was *Gryllus*, who ſlew *Epaminondas* with his own hand, as *Pauſanias* affirmes to have been atteſted both by the Athenians, and the Thebans, adding, that he had ſeen at *Athens* a picture of the battle at *Mantinea*, confirming the ſame; and that at *Mantinea* was erected a Pillar with the ſtatue of *Gryllus* on horſeback. In this noble action *Gryllus* loſt his life, the newes of whoſe death came to *Xenophon* at *Corinth*, as he was ſacrificing, Crowned with a Garland: as ſoon as he heard his ſon was ſlain, he took off his Garland, and laid it aſide; then demanding after what manner he died, it was anſwered, fighting ſtoutly in the midſt of his enemies, of whom, having ſlain many, he fell at laſt himſelfe: Hereupon *Xenophon* took again his Garland, and putting it upon his head, proceeded to ſacrifice, not ſo much as ſhedding one tear, only ſaying, *I knew that I had begot a mortall*; *and calling the Gods to whom he ſacrificed to witneſſe, that the vertue of his ſon gave him more cõtent, then his death ſorrow. *Innumerable were the Epitaphs and Encomiums that were written upon *Gryllus*, to pleaſe *Xenophon*, whence may be collected in how great eſteem he was.

Laert. Ælian. var. hiſt. 3. 5. D. Hieron Epitaph. Nepot. ad Heliod. Stob. Serm. 106.

* Val. Max. 5. 10.

* Laert. citing Ariſtotle

That he made a viſit to *Dionyſius* Tyrant of *Sicily* (but at what time is uncertain) is implied by *Athenæus*, who relateth, that being at a feaſt of his, compelled by the Cup-bearer to drink, he called the Tyrant by name: "What is the matter "*Dyonyſius* (ſaith he) your Cook, though excellent in that art, "doth not enforce us to eat againſt our inclination?

* Deipnos. lib. 10.

CHAP. VII.

His Death, Perſon, Vertues.

Xenophon being *full of years* (which according to *Lucian* exceeded ninety) died at *Corinth*, in the firſt of the hundreth and fifth Olympiad, *Callidemus*, or *Callimedes* being Archon, at what time *Philip* ſon of *Amintas* began his raign in *Macedonia*. He had an ingenious modeſt look, long, thick hair, handſome (to uſe the words of *Laertius*) beyond expreſſion, *Adroit in every thing, particularly addicted to horſes and hunting, skilfull in Tacticks, as his writings atteſt; devout, a great lover of ſacrifices, skilfull in interpreting them; an exact imitatour of* Socrates, *temperate*, as appears from his ſaying, that * *It is pleaſant hungry, to eat herbs; thirſty, to drink water.* So candid and ingenious, that * when he might have ſtollen the writings of *Thucydides* which lay concealed, he choſe rather to publiſh them with honour.

* Laert. De longæv.

* Athen. deipn. 4.

* Laert.

In a word, he was a perſon every way abſolute, as well for action, as contemplation. Xenophon (ſaith * *Eunapius*) *was the only man of all the Philoſophers who adorned Philoſophy with his words*

* Proœm.

and

and actions; he describes morall vertue in his discourses and writings: in his actions he was singular; as to his conduct, a most excellent Generall. Alexander *had not been great, if* Xenophon *had not said, even the perfunctory actions of valiant persons ought to be recorded.*

* He was the first that committed the disputes of *Socrates* his Master to writing, and that with much fidelity, not inserting excursions of his own, as *Plato* did, whom for that reason, as * *Agellius* observes, he argueth of falsehood; that there was a great enmity betwixt these two is affirmed by the same Author, who, as a proof thereof alledgeth, that neither of them names the other in any of their writings: * *Vossius* only observes, that *Xenophon* mentions *Plato* once in his * ἀπομνημονεύματα, overseen by *Agellius*. This enmity is further acknowledged by * *Athenæus* and *Laertius*, confirmed by the Epistle of *Xenophon* to *Æschines*, wherein he condemnes *Plato*, that not being satisfied with the Doctrine of *Socrates*, he went to the Pythagoreans in *Italy*, and to the Ægyptian Priests; arguments of a mind not constant to *Socrates*. That he was at difference with * *Aristippus* also, argued from his writings.

* *Laert.*

* *Lib.* 14.

* *De Histor. Græc.* 1. 5.

* *Lib.* 3.

* *Deipnos.* 11.

* *Laert. vit. Aristipp.*

Laertius hath two Epigrams concerning him, the first upon his going with *Cyrus* into upper *Asia*.

Great Xenophon *at once made two ascents,*
To Asia *in person, and to Heaven by fame:*
His stile and action (lasting Monuments)
Lay to Socratick-wisdome equall claime.

The other upon his banishment.

Thee the Cecropians, noble Xenophon,
Banish'd their land, 'cause Cyrus *thou didst aid;*
But strangers prov'd far kinder then thy own:
what Athens *ow'd thee, was by* Corinth *paid.*

Laertius reckons seven *Xenophons*, this the first, the second an Athenian, brother to *Nicostratus*, Author of the *Theses*; besides many other things, he writ the lives of *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*; the third, a Physician of *Coos*; the fourth writer of the History of *Hannibal*: the fifth, writer of fabulous Monsters: the sixt, of *Paros* a statuary: the seventh, an old Comick Poet: *Suidas* reckons three more; one of *Antioch*, the second of *Ephesus*, the third of *Cyprus*: Historians, or rather writers of Romances; that of the first called *Babylonica*, of the second *Ephesiaca* in ten books; of the third *Cypriaca*: the story of *Cynaras*, *Myrrha*, and *Adonis*.

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CHAP. VIII.

His writings.

Dionysius Halicarnassæus saith, that *Xenophon* was a studious æmulatour of *Herodotus*, both in words and language: His stile (according to *Cicero*) *soft and *sweet (melle dulcior) far differing from the noise of Oratours in the Forum: in his voice, *the Muses seem to speak*, whence he was sirnamed *the Attick Muse*; or according to others, *the Attick Bee*, a Title formerly conferr'd on *Sophocles*. His stile and manner of writting is at large discoursed upon by *Aristides*, *Adrianensis* in an expresse tract, erroneously ascribed to *Hermogenes*.

* Brut. & de oratore. lib. 2.
* Orator.
* Cic Orat.
* Vit. Sophocl.

The Books of *Xenophon* (which* *Scipio Africanus* had alwaies in his hand, and * *Cicero* adviseth to read, as very profitable in many things) were (as reckoned by *Laertius*) fortie, which severall persons distinguish severally; the generall titles these.

* Cicer. Tusc. quæst. 3.
* De senect.

Κύρου παιδεία; *the life and discipline of* Cyrus (as *Cicero* renders it) in eight books, written *non ad historiæ fidem* (though * *Diodorus Siculus* seems to take it in that quality) *sed ad effigiem justi imperii; not as a faithfull History, but the description of an exact Prince*: Whence * *Ausonius* saith, *in relating the vertues of* Cyrus, *he hath given rather a wish then a history, describing, not what he was, but what he ought to have been.*

* Lib. 15.
* Grat. act.

Κύρου ἀνάβασις; *the going up of* Cyrus *the younger into* Asia, in seven Books; each of which (as *Laertius* observes) hath a Proœm, the whole none: *Masius* suspects that *Xenophon* was not the Author of this book; the Bishop of *Armach* ascribes it to *Themistogenes*, though owned as *Xenophons* by *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, *Dionysius Halycarnæsuus*, *Hermogenes*, *Laertius*, *Athenæus*, and others.

* Annal.

Ἑλλήνων; *the Greek History*, in seven books, continuing where *Thucydides* left; the same was done by *Theopompus*, but he went no further then sixteen yeers, *Xenophon* to fortie eight.

Agesilaus, of which piece *Cicero* saith, that *Agesilaus would not suffer his picture or statue to be made, this book alone surpasseth all pictures or images in his praise.*

The Republick of the Lacedæmonians, and *the Republick of the Athenians*, which * *Demetrius* denieth to be *Xenophons*.

* Laert.

The defence of Socrates, and *the memorialls of* Socrates, which perhaps is that *history of Philosophers* mentioned by *Suidas*.

Oeconomicks, the last book of the memorable discourses, wherewith *Cicero* was so much delighted, that in his younger yeers he translated it.

* Offic. 2.

Symposium, accommodated to the fourth yeer of the eighty ninth

ninth Olympiad; for which reason reprehended by *Athenæus*, as erroneous in Chronology; vindicated by the learned *Casaubon*.

Hiero, Or, *of a Kingdome.*
The accompts of revenues.
Of Horses.
Of Horsemanship.
Of Hunting.
Epistles.

Besides these which are extant, *Xenophon* seemes to have written other things; * *Valerius Maximus* and * *Pliny* cite his *Periplus.* *8.13. *7.48.

There is a treatise of *Æquivokes* under *Xenophon's* name, but made and imposed upon the world by *Annius.*

XENOPHON'S

XENOPHONS EPISTLES.

*To Æschines.

* Stob. serm.

Epist. 1.

MEeting with *Hermogenes*, amongst other things I asked him what Philosophy you followed, he answered, the same as *Socrates*. For this inclination I admired you, when you lived at *Athens*, and now continue the same admiration for your constancy above other students of wisdom; The greatest argument to me of your virtue is, your being taken with that man, if we may call the life of *Socrates* mortall. That there are divine beings over us all know: wee worship them as exceeding us in power; what they are is neither easie to find, nor lawfull to enquire. It concerns not servants to examine the Nature and actions of their Masters, their duty is onely to obey them; and which is most considerable, the more admiration they deserve who busie themselves in those things which belong to man; the more trouble this brings them, who affect glory in vain unseasonable objects: For when (*Æschines*) did any man hear *Socrates* discourse of the Heavens, or advise his Schollers to Mathematicall Demonstrations? we know he understood Musick no further then the Ear: But was alwaies discoursing to his friends of some thing excellent; what is fortitude and justice and other virtues. These he called the proper good of mankind; other things he said men could not arrive at; or they were of kin to fables, such ridiculous things as are taught by the supercilious professours of wisdom. Nor did hee onely teach this; his practice was answerable; of which I have written at large elsewhere, what I hope will not be unpleasing to you, (though you know it already) to peruse. Let * those who are not satisfied with what *Socrates* delivered, give over upon this conviction, or confine themselves to what is probable. Living, hee was attested wise by the Deity; Dead, his Murtherers could find no expiation by repentance: But these extraordinary persons affect *Ægypt* and the prodigious learning of *Pythagoras*, which unnecessary study argueth them of inconstancy towards *Socrates*, as doth also their love of Tyrants, and preferring the luxury of a Sicilian table before a frugal life.

* Meaning Plato, who added much of his own to the discourses of Socrates, and went to Ægypt, Italy, and Sicily.

To

To Crito.

Epiſt. 2.

Socrates often told us, that they who provide much wealth for their Children, but neglect to improve them by vertue, do like thoſe who feed their horſes high, and never train them to the manage: by this means their horſes are the better in caſe, but the worſe for ſervice, whereas the commendations of a horſe conſiſts not in his being fat, but ſerviceable in war. In the ſame kind erre they who purchaſe Lands for their Children, but neglect their perſons; Their poſſeſſions will be of great value, themſelves of none, whereas the owner ought to be more honourable then his eſtate. Whoſoevever therefore breeds his Son well, though he leave him little, gives him much: It is the mind which makes him great or ſmall: whatſoever they have, to the good ſeems ſufficient, to the rude too little. You leave your Children no more then neceſſitie requires, which they being well educated will eſteem plentifull. The ignorant though free from preſent trouble, have nothing the leſſe fear for the future. *Stob. ſerm. 201.*

To Sotira.

Epiſt. 3.

* DEath in my opinion is neither good nor ill, but the end of the life, not alike to all, for as ſtronger or weaker from their birth, their years are unequall; ſometimes death is haſtned by good or evill cauſes: *and again?* * Neither is it fitting to grieve ſo much for death, knowing that birth is the beginning of mans Pilgrimage, death the end. Hee died, as all men (though never ſo unwilling) muſt do: but to die well, is the part of a willing and well educated perſon. Happy was *Gryllus*, and whoſoever elſe chooſeth not the longeſt life, but the moſt virtuous; though his (it pleaſed God) was ſhort. * *Stob. ſerm. 89.* * *Stob. ſerm. 278.*

To Lamprocles.

Epiſt. 4.

YOu muſt firſt approve the excellent aſſertion of *Socrates*, that *Riches are to be meaſured by their uſe*. He called not large poſſeſſions riches, but ſo much onely as is neceſſary; in the judgement whereof he adviſed us not to be deceived, theſe he called truly rich, the reſt poor, labouring under an incurable poverty of mind, not eſtate. *Stob.*

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*Epist. 5.

* Epist. Socratic. 18.

* Allatius otherwise.

THey who * write in praise of my Son *Gryllus*, did as they ought; and you likewise do well in writing to us the actions of *Socrates*; wee ought not onely to endeavour to be good our selves, but to praise him who lived chastly, piously, and justly; and to blame fortune, and those who plotted against him, who ere long will receive the punishment thereof. The Lacedæmonians are much incensed at it, (for the ill newes is come hither already) and reproach our people, saying, they are mad again, in that they could be wrought upon to put him to death whom *Pythia* declared the wisest of men. If any of *Socrates* friends want those things which I sent, give me notice, and I will help them, for it is just and honest; you do well in in keeping *Æschines* with you, as you send me word. I have a design to collect the sayings and actions of *Socrates*, which will be his best apology, both now and for the future, not in the Court where the Athenians are Judges, but to all who consider the virtue of the man. If we should not write this freely, it were a sin against friendship and the truth. Even now there fell into my hands a piece of *Plato's* to that effect, wherein is the name of *Socrates*, and some discourses of his not unpleasant. * But we must professe that we heard not, nor can commit to writing any thing in that kind, for we are not Poets as hee is, though he renounce Poetry; for amidst his entertainments with beautiful persons, he affirmed that there was not any Poem of his extant, but one of *Socrates*, young and handsome: Farewell, both, dearest to me.

*Epist. 6.

* Epist. Socratick. 21.

INtending to celebrate the feast of *Diana*, to whom we have erected a Temple, we sent to invite you hither: If all of you would come, it were much the best, otherwise if you send such as you can conveniently spare to assist at our sacrifice, you will do us a favour. *Aristippus* was here, and (before him) *Phædo*, who were much pleased with the scituation and structure, but above all, with the plantation which I have made with my own hands. The place is stored with beasts, convenient for hunting, which the Goddesse affects; Let us rejoice and give thanks to her who preserved me from the King of the Barbarians, and afterwards in *Pontus* and *Thrace* from greater evills, even when we thought wee were out of the Enemies reach. Though you come not, yet am I obliged to write to you. I have composed some memorialls of *Socrates*, when they are per-

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perfect you shall have them. *Aristippus* and *Phædo* did not disapprove of them; Salute in my name *Simon* the leather-dresser, and commend him that hee continueth Socratick discourses, not diverted by want, or his trade from Philosophy, as some others, who decline to know and admire such discourses and their effects.

*Epist. 7.

* Epist. Socratic. 19.

COme to us dear friend, for we have now finished the Temple of *Diana*, a magnificent structure, the place set with trees and consecrated, what remains will be sufficient to maintain us: for as *Socrates* said, if they are not fit for us, we will fit our selves to them; I writ to *Grylius* my son and your friend to supply your occasions, I writ to *Gryllus*, because of a little one you have profest a kindnesse for him.

To Xantippe.

*Epist. 8.

* Epist. Socratic. 21.

TO *Euphron* of *Megara* I delivered six measures of meale, eight drachmes, and a new rayment for your use this winter: accept them and know that *Euclid* and *Terpsion* are exceeding good, honest persons, very affectionate to you and *Socrates*; If your sons have a desire to come to me, hinder them not, for the journey to *Megara* is neither long nor incommodious: Pray forbear to weep any more, it may do hurt, but cannot help. Remember what *Socrates* said, follow his practise and precepts; In grieving you will but wrong your self and children; They are the young ones of *Socrates*, whom we are obliged not onely to maintain, but to preserve our selves for their sakes: lest if you or I, or any other, who after the death of *Socrates* ought to look to his Children, should fail, they might want a Guardian to maintain and protect them. I study to live for them, which you will not do unlesse you cherish your self. Grief is one of those things which are opposite to life, for by it the living are prejudiced. *Apollodorus* * sirnamed *the fool*, and *Dion* praise you, that you will accept nothing from any, professing you are rich; it is well done: for as long as I and other friends are able to maintain you, you shall need none else. Be of good courage *Xantippe*, lose nothing of *Socrates*, knowing how great that man was; think upon his life, not upon his death; yet that to those who consider it will appear noble and excellent. Farewell.

* *The reason manifest from Xenophon and Laertius, who describe him such: Xenophon calls him* ἰυνάτατος, *Apolog. Socrat.) in all things but his affection to Socrates. Leo Allatius is much perplext concerning this appellation.*

To

* To Cebes *and* Simmias

* Epiſt. Socratic. 22.

Epiſt. 9.

IT is commonly ſaid, nothing is richer then a poor man, this I find true in my ſelf, who have not ſo much, but whileſt you my friends take care of me, ſeem to poſſeſſe much : and it is well done of you to ſupply me as often as I write: As concerning my Commentaries, there is none of them but I fear ſhould be ſeen by any in my abſence, as I profeſt in your hearing at the houſe where *Euclid* lay. I know dear friends a writing once communicated to many is irrecoverable. *Plato*, though abſent, is much admired throughout *Italy* and *Sicily* for his treatiſes; but wee cannot be perſwaded they deſerve any ſtudy; I am not onely carefull of loſing the honour due to learning, but tender alſo of *Socrates*, leſt his virtue ſhould incur any prejudice by my ill relation of it. I conceive it the ſame thing to calumniate, or not praiſe to the full thoſe of whom we write. This is my fear (*Cebes* and *Simmias*) at preſent, untill my judgement ſhall be otherwiſe inform'd. Fare ye well.

ÆSCHINES.

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ÆSCHINES.

CHAP I.

His life.

* ÆSCHINES was ſon of *Charinus* ἀλλαντοπώλης, or, as *Plato* and others, of *Lyſanias*, an Athenian, of the *Sphettian* Tribe: He was from his childhood very induſtrious; addreſſing himſelfe to *Socrates*, he ſaid to him, I am poor, and have nothing to give you but my ſelfe: Do you not know, anſwered *Socrates*, that you have made me a rich preſent? He was the moſt diligent of all his Schollers, and never quitted him; whereupon *Socrates* ſaid, that he only, ὁ ἀλλαντοπώλης valued him: He was not beloved of *Plato*, nor *Ariſtippus*: *Idomeneus* ſaith, it was he who counſelled *Socrates* to eſcape out of Priſon, which *Plato* aſcribes to *Crito*. Being very poor, *Socrates* bad him take ſome of his Dialogues and make mony of them, which *Ariſtippus* ſuſpecting when he read them at *Megara*, derided him, ſaying, how came you by theſe Plagiary? Another time * *Ariſtippus falling out with him, was queſtion'd what became of his friendſhip, he anſwered, it is aſleep, but I will wake it; and meeting* Æſchines, *do I ſeem ſo inconſiderable to you, ſaith he, and unfortunate, as not to deſerve correction? It is no wonder, anſwers* Æſchines, *if your nature exceeding mine in every thing, find out firſt what is expedient.* * Inſtigated by poverty, he went to *Sicily*, to *Dionyſius* the Tyrant, at what time *Plato* and *Ariſtippus* were there: *Plato* being out of favour with the Tyrant, took occaſion, by preſenting Æſchines, to ingratiate himſelfe: * *He deſired he might be admitted to ſpeak with him, which the Tyrant granted, ſuppoſing he would alledge ſomething in defence of himſelfe; as ſoon as he came into his preſence, he began thus: If you knew* Dionyſius, *of any that came with a hoſtile intent to do you hurt, though he fail'd of the occaſion, would you ſuffer him to depart unpuniſhed? Nothing leſſe, anſwered* Dionyſius; *for not only the ill actions, but deſignes of enemies deſerve to be chaſtized. Then (replies* Plato*) if any man ſhould come hither out of an intent to do you a good office, and you not give him leave, ought you to neglect and deſpiſe him?* Dionyſius *demanded whom he meant: Æſchines (ſaith he) a perſon of as great integrity as any of* Socrates *his friends,*

* *Laert.* * *Lucanicarum fartoris.*

* *Plut. de ira cohib.*

* *Laert. Philoſtrat. vit. Apollon; and from him Suidas.*

* *Plutarch. de adulat. & amici diſcrim.*

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able to reform those with whom he converseth, who having undertaken a great voyage by sea to come hither, and discourse Philosophically with you, is neglected. Dionysius *was so pleased at this, that he embraced* Plato, *admiring his candor and greatnesse of spirit, and entertained* Æschines *bountifully and magnificently.* Thus *Plutarch*; but *Laertius* saith, that *Æschines* comming thither, was despised by *Plato*, and recommended by *Aristippus*, the latter, the Socratick Epistle confirmes: to *Dionysius* he imparted some Dialogues, and was gratified by him, with whom he lived untill he was deposed, and *Dion* brought into the Kingdome; then returned to *Athens*, where not daring to professe his Philosophy, because the names of *Plato* and *Aristippus* were so great, he taught and * took mony privately, at last applyed himselfe to framing orations for the Forum, in which *Timon* saith, he was very perswasive: *Lysias* wrote one Oration in answer to him, intituled περὶ συνωρίδος, or according to *Athenæus* πρὸς Αἰσχίνην τὸν Σωκρατικὸν λόγους, wherein he aspersеth him for many things, which are not any way probable, as (besides patronizing an unjust cause, and borrowing without intent to restore) for pretending to sell unguents, contrarie to the lawes of *Solon*, and precepts of *Socrates*, and for injuring *Hermæus*, his wife and children; see *Athenæus*. *Aristotle* sirnamed ὁ Μῦθος was his intimate friend. *Laertius* reckons eight of this name; the first, this *Æschines* the Philosopher; the second wrot of Rhetorick; the third an Oratour, contemporary with *Demosthenes*; the fourth an Arcadian, scholler to *Isocrates*; the fifth of *Mitelene*, sirnamed *Rhetoromastix*; the sixt a Neopolitan, an Academick Philosopher, disciple to *Melanthius* a Rhodian; the seventh a Milesian, who wrot Politicks, friend to *Cicero*; the eight a statuary.

* *Laert. Hesych. Illustr.*

CHAP. II.
His writings.

HE wrot *Dialogues*, *Orations*, and *Epistles*; by the first *Athenæus* affirms, he gained a great esteem of temperance, humanity, and integrity: *Menedemus* accuseth him of owning many Dialogues of *Socrates*, which he had of *Xantippe*; *Panætius* believes them to be his own, not counterfeit: those (saith *Laertius*) which expresse the Socratick habit, are seven; the first, *Miltiades*, written in a lower stile: the second, *Callias*, wherein he is blamed by *Athenæus* for treating of the enmity betwixt *Callias* & his fathers, and for deriding *Anaxagoras* & *Prodicus* in their scholars *Theramenes*, *Philoxenus*, and *Ariphrades*. The third, *Rhinon*; the fourth, *Aspasia*, cited by *Athenæus* and *Harpocration*: the fifth *Alcibiades*, cited also by * *Athenæus*: The sixth *Axiochus*, wherein (saith * *Athenæus*) *he traduceth* Alcibiades *as given to Wine and women*; which particular not being to be found in that

Laert. Athen.

* *Lib.* 14.
* *Lib.* 5.

Axiochus

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Axiochus, extant amongst the spurious Platonick Dialogues, argues (contrary to the opinion of *Vossius*) that it is not the same. The last, *Telauges*, the scope whereof was a Satyricall derision of the vices of that person, as appeareth from *Demetrius Phalereus*, and * *Athenæus*.

* Lib. 5. upon which see Casaubon, cap. 20.

* There were seven other Dialogues, stiled ἀνώνυμοι, which went under the name of *Æschines*, very loose, and not expressing enough the Socratick severity; whence *Pisistratus* the Athenian, denyed that they were his; and *Perseus* saith, the greatest part were written by *Pasiphon* of *Eretria*, falsely mingled with the Dialogues of *Æschines*: their names (according to *Suidas*) were *Phædon*, *Polyænus*, *Dracon*, *Eryxias*, (perhaps that which is extant) *of Vertue*, *Erasistratus*, the *Scythians*.

* Laert.

* His *Orations* gave full testimony of his perfection in Rhetorick, in confirmation whereof, *Laertius* instanceth, that *in defence of the father of* Phæacus *the General*, and those *wherein he chiefly imitated* Gorgias *the* Leontine; of which * *Philostratus* cites that *concerning Thargelia*.

* Epist. ad Jul. August.

Of his *Epistles*, one to *Dionysius* the Tyrant is mentioned by *Laertius*, as extant in his time: another there is under his name amongst the **Socratick Epistles* in these words;

* Epist. 23.

Assoon as I arrived at Syracuse, Aristippus *met me in the* Forum, *and taking me by the hand, carried me immediately to* Dionysius, *to whom he said,* Dionysius, *if a man should come hither to insinuate folly into you, did he not aim at your hurt? to which* Dionysius *consenting,* what *then, continues* Aristippus, *would you do to him? the worst, answers* Dionysius, *that could be: But if any one, saith he, should come to improve you in wisdome, did he not aim at your good? which* Dionysius *acknowledging: Behold then (continues he)* Æschines, *one of* Socrates *his disciples, come hither to instruct you; he aimes at your good, therefore on him confer the benefits you confesse due to such.* Dyonisius (*said I, interrupting him*) Aristippus *expresseth an admirable friendship in this addresse; but we are owners only of so much wisdome, as restrains us from abusing those with whom we converse.* Dionysius *hereat pleased, commended* Aristippus, *and promised to make good what he had confest due to me: He heard our* Alcibiades, *and delighted it seemes therewith, desired if we had any other Dialogues, that we would send them to him, which we promised to do, and therefore dear friends we intend to be shortly with you. Whilst I read,* Plato *was present (which I had almost forgot to tell you) and whispered something in my behalfe privately to* Dionysius, *by reason of* Aristippus; *for as soon as he was gone out, he told me that he never spoke freely when that man (naming* Aristippus) *was present; but for what I said to* Dionysius *concerning you, I referre my selfe to him: The next day,* Dionysius *in the Garden confirmed his speech as said of me, with many sportive sayings (for they were no better) I advised* Aristippus *and* Plato *to cease their emulation, because of their generall fame; for we shall be most ridiculous, if our actions correspond not with our profession.*

CRITO.

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CRITO.

CRITO was an Athenian * ſcholler to *Socrates*: whom he loved ſo entirely that he never ſuffered him to want neceſſaries, of which more hath been already ſaid in the life of *Socrates*: * Being much troubled and ſued by thoſe who had not received any injury from him, but abus'd the quietneſſe of his diſpoſition, which would ſooner part with money upon no ground then go to law, *Socrates* adviſed him to entertain one of the ſame buſie, troubleſome humour, to keep off the reſt; *Crito* in purſuit of this counſell made choice of *Archidemus*, an excellent Lawyer, but poor, who being obliged by his guifts and kindneſſe, perſecuted eagerly all ſuch as moleſted not him only, but any of his friends: *Crito* wrote ſeventeen dialogues compriſed in one volume, thus reckon'd by *Laertius*. *That the good are not made ſuch by learning. Of having moſt. What is expedient, or the Politician. Of honeſty, of wickedneſſe, of ſecurity, of Law, of Divinity, of arts, of converſation, of wiſdom*; Protagoras *or the Politick. Of letters, Of Poetry, of what is honeſt, of learning, of knowing or ſcience, what it is to know.* He writ alſo *an Apology for* Socrates.

* He had four ſons, *Critobulus*, *Hermogenes*, *Epigenes*, and *Cleſippus*, all auditors of *Socrates*; of whom already.

Suidas reckons three more of this name: One wrot Getick ſtories; the ſecond was of *Pieria* a City in *Macedonia*; the third of *Naxus*, both Hiſtorians.

* Suid.

* Xen.

* Suid.

* Laert.

SIMON.

* SIMON was an Athenian, a leather-dreſſer. *Socrates* coming to his ſhop, and diſputing there, he committed to writing all that he remembred thereof; whence his dialogues were called σκυτικοὶ. They were three and thirty, all in one volume: of Gods, of good, of honeſt, what is honeſt. Of juſt, the firſt, the 2d. Of virtue, that it cannot be taught. Of fortitude, the firſt, ſecond, third. Of law, of Popularity, of honour, of Poetry, of health, of love, of Philoſophy, of knowledge, of muſick, of Poetry; what is honeſt. Of doctrine, of diſputation, of judgement, of that which is, of number, of diligence, of labour, of avarice, of boaſting, of honeſty, or according to others, of Counſel, of diſcourſe, of expedients, of doing ill. He is reported the firſt that uſed the Socratick diſcourſes. *Pericles* promiſing that if hee would come to him, he ſhould want nothing, hee anſwered, that he would not ſell his freedom of ſpeech. There is extant amongſt the Socratick Epiſtles, this under his name, as in anſwer to *Ariſtippus*.

* Laert.

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*I hear that you * deride our learning to* Dionysius; *I confesse I am a leather-dresser, and work upon that trade to the * reproof of indiscreet persons, who think to follow* Socrates, *yet live luxuriously. As for your Children,* Antisthenes *will correct them, to whom you write scoffing at my manner of life; But of this mirth enough; onely be mindfull of me and of thirst; These conduce much to the wise.*

* Perhaps παιδεύειν rather then δαυμάζειν.

* παιδείαν, which Allatius renders institutionem.

GLAUCO.

* GLAUCO was an Athenian: he writ nine Dialogues, * Laert
compriſed in one book; *Phidylus, Euripides, Amyntichus, Euthias, Lyſithides, Ariſtophanes, Ephalus, Anaxiphemus, Menexenus.* There are two and thirty more falſly aſcribed to him.

SIMMIAS.

SIMMIAS was a Theban; he writ 23. Dialogues in one * Laert.
Book: of wiſdom, of ratiocination, of muſick, of verſe, of fortitude, of Philoſophy, of truth, of letters, of Doctrine, of art, of conduct, of decency, of what is to be choſen, and what to be ſhunned; of friendſhip, of knowledge, of the ſoul, of well-living, of poſſibility, of wealth, of life, what is honeſt, of induſtry, of love.

CEBES.

CEBES was of *Thebes*, a Philoſopher, Diſciple to *Socrates*: * Laert
he writ three Dialogues; The Tablet (which is extant) the ſeventh. *Phrynichus*; he writ alſo *an infernall narrative*, and other things. Theſe are the Philoſophers who did not diſtract the Doctrine of their Maſter into Sects, in which reſpect they may more properly be termed Socratick, though the reſt alſo aſſume that title.

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Olympiads.	Archontes.	
xxxv		*Thales* borne. *Laert.*
2	Damasias 1. *Halyc.*	*Solon* borne about this time: by compute from his death.
3		
4		Phiryno victor in all the Olympick exercises. *Euseb.* probably the same with whom Pittacus fought.
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xxxvii		
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3		Periander begun to raign at Corinth.
4		
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xxxix	Draco *Tat. an. Clem. Suid*	Draco makes lawes at Athens.
2		
3		
4		
xL		Arions story. *Euseb.*
2		
3		
4		
xli	Heniochides *Hal.*	
2		
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4		
xlii		Pittacus flourished. *Laert.*
2		
3	Aristocles *Marm.*	Alyattes King of Lydia begun to raign. Anaximander borne. *Laert.*
4		
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2	Critias 1. *Marm.*	
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xlvi		Epimenides lustrates the City of Athens: *Laert.* Epimenides born. *Suid.*
2	Philombratus. *Plat. Sol.*	Solon made Archon. His Lawes.
3	Solon. *Laert.*	
4	Dropides. *Phil. in Critia.*	
xlvii	Eucrates. *Laert.*	Anacharsis came to Athens to visit Solon. *Laert.*
2	Simon. *Marm.*	
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4		

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xlviii	Philippus. *Clem.*		
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xlix			*Periander* died having raigned 40 years, *Aristot. polit.* 5. *Laert.*
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3	Damasias. *Marm*	1	The attribute of *wise* conferred on *Thales*, and
4		2	the other six.
l		3	About this time *Thespis* began to present his
2		4	Tragedies. *Anaximander* found out the
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2		28	*Anaximenes* flourished.
3		29	*Euseb.*
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4		38	*Cyrus* takes *Sardys* and *Croesus*.
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The

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Errata.

MAny errors have escaped the press by reason of the Authors absence, as pag. 1. lin. 15. *from whence it is derived to us.* p.2.l.4. *a very great anachronisme.* l. 9. φοίνικες. p.4. *his time in travell*; *He went to Creet.* p.28.l.18. *for his birth.* p. 29. l. 9. *my wave-washt grove.* p. 39. l. 3. *Judicature*; l.23. *a silent unexpressed consent.* p.41.l.6. *with Minors.* p. 63.l.4. *the checkerd cloister.* l.22. *Dion Chrysostome*; *Aristides Lycurgus.* p.69.l.5. *in Stobeus, Pages.* p. 74. l. 42. *as the ground.* p.114.l.9. *other Dosiades: others Agiasarchus: Apollonius, Bolus, Laertius and Suidas name his mother Blasta, Plutarch Balta*; *supposed a Nymph.* p.119.l. 34. *that suits not:* In the second part; p.14.l24. *the ninty third Olympiad.* p.19 l.43. *These five, Thales, &c.* In the third part, p.1.l.26. *lived 70. yeares.* p.29.l.42. *your heard.* p.59. l. 6. *what I writ before.* l. 7. *greater overtures.* l. 9. *over to you.* p.68.l.30 *well, my good.* p.73.l.26 *fervent vowes.* p.75.l.25. *I thought that Jove.* p.78. l.17. *the thing that I demand.* p.79.l.17. *and Lysinna.* l.34. *within your selfe.* p.81.l.30. *dele why.* p.82 l. 16. *come and I.* p.83.l.2. *of folly or.* p.85.l.41. *Illoye fooles.* p.92 l.34. *rules all heaven.* p. 105. l. 19. *to Diana.* In the margent, p. 17. *the words perhaps are inverted, and for* τρεῖς γεγραμμὲς ἐπὶ πίστει πιμαῖς ἐμῶν τὰς πρεσβὰς. *read.* τὰς * πρέσβεις ἐμῶν. p.27. *both the Interpreters.* p.110 *for* ὑπὸ τῦ ἀδελφιδῦ *read* ὑπὸ τῦ ἀδελφεῦ.

Spargapithes.
I
Lycus.
I
Gnurus.
I
Anacharsis — Saulius, or Caduida.
I
Indathyrsus.

Part. 2. pag.9. *Laert: perhaps,* ὅ, τι δὴ νόῳ ἐντῷ. Part.3.p.63. *for* σωμάτων *read* χρημάτων.

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